

Stenographic Transcript of

COMMITTEE ON  
COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND TRANSPORTATION

## UNITED STATES SENATE

PROMOTING THE WELL-BEING AND ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF COLLEGE ATHLETES

Wednesday, July 9, 2014

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY  
1155 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW  
SUITE 200  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-5650  
(202) 289-2260

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1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN ROCKEFELLER, U.S.  
2           SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA

3           The Chairman: This hearing will come to order, and I  
4           want to thank all of you very much for coming here. You're  
5           a bit squeezed in there but water is on the house.

6           [Laughter.]

7           The Chairman: So be comfortable and be glad.

8           College sports has an absolutely extraordinary  
9           position in the culture of our country. Not only have  
10          college sports inspired incredible fan passion all across  
11          the country but they provided a very important way for  
12          young men and women to, as is written, both do athletics as  
13          an avocation and get an education. We are going to sort of  
14          talk about that today.

15          Many young people, however, athletics has provided an  
16          avenue to college they would have otherwise not have  
17          existed and it is important to understand that.

18          College athletes and athletics are rooted in the  
19          notion of amateurism. And the history of that is very  
20          interesting and important, going back to the founding of  
21          NCAA, 1906, and all the rest of it; and going back,  
22          actually, to the Greek's concept of amateurism.

23          Playing college sports is supposed to be an avocation.  
24          Students play college sports for the love of the game not  
25          for the love of money. That is the ideal but many people

1 believe this notion of college sports as being undermined  
2 by the power and the influence of money.

3 I remember a meeting I had in my office with the three  
4 top executives of ESPN and it was one of those meetings in  
5 which I didn't say a word because they just went around in  
6 circles, each talking about what a great business model  
7 they had and how they had the control and the power that no  
8 other broadcast system would ever have and how thrilled  
9 they were with it, and how they were going to make it even  
10 stronger.

11 There's a growing perception that college athletics,  
12 particularly Division I football and basketball, are not  
13 avocations at all. What they really are is highly  
14 profitable commercial enterprises. They believe that.

15 Critics of big-time college athletics say that the  
16 goal of these programs is not to provide young people with  
17 a college education, but to produce a winning program that  
18 reaps financial rewards for the athletic departments and  
19 their schools. It is not, however, about the students;  
20 their part of what generates the money.

21 It's about capturing the billions of dollars of  
22 television and marketing revenues that college sports do  
23 generate. And it will generate even more.

24 Colleges and universities say that these revenues  
25 benefit college athletes and their student bodies at large.

1 But I think we have to consider whether the lure of such  
2 riches could corrupt the basic mission of athletic  
3 programs. Winning teams get higher payouts than losing  
4 teams which creates a strong incentive to win. An  
5 incentive which land-grant public universities and others  
6 are more than happy to follow. And win at any cost.

7 Much of the money is often funneled right back into  
8 those sports programs in the form of multimillion-dollar  
9 coaching salaries and state-of-the-art facilities. Many of  
10 them paid for by the taxpayers to perpetuate the cycle of  
11 winning. I think somewhere in my reading here, about \$48  
12 million of all the \$900 million that NCAA gets from, you  
13 know, their broadcasting, March Madness and all the rest of  
14 it, a very small portion goes specifically to academics.  
15 But even that is hard to figure because nobody has the  
16 figures.

17 Mr. Emmert works for them. They make the decisions.  
18 He carries out what they want and, yet, I think a subject  
19 of discussion is: how does he carry out what they want?  
20 What powers do you have, Mr. Emmert, for actually carrying  
21 out what you think is a good idea? You've been president  
22 of three major universities, different places. Then, I  
23 would think, your passion for education would need to show  
24 itself.

25 Athletics to me are meant to serve schools and their

1 public duty to educate students, not the other way around.  
2 That's the way it's always put forward and that's the way  
3 it should be.

4 Dr. Mark Emmert is here to present the perspective of  
5 the colleges and universities that belong to the NCAA and I  
6 would like to thank you for testifying. You could have  
7 declined to do so. Some do, but you didn't. And I'm  
8 grateful for that.

9 I believe that you were put at the helm of the NCAA  
10 because you have an impressive academic credentials and a  
11 sterling reputation. And I think that we all appreciate  
12 that you're extremely well compensated. Your commendable  
13 individual qualities and capabilities are not what trouble  
14 me. I think I'm just very skeptical that the NCAA can  
15 never live up to the lofty mission that you constantly talk  
16 about, and which is written and printed in speeches and  
17 statements and responses to Penn State this or something  
18 else that. The mission, nothing comes before education, is  
19 always there but the actions don't appear to be.

20 I don't see how the NCAA will ever be capable of truly  
21 making a safe, good education experience for students their  
22 number one priority. I want you to tell me that I'm wrong.  
23 That I am wrong and that I'm particularly wrong about the  
24 future. But I'll be a tough sell.

25 I think we believe that the NCAA has largely been left

1 to its own to determine what reforms are appropriate and  
2 how to accomplish its mission. As we continue to learn  
3 more about what goes on at some major universities and  
4 colleges, we want to know if the NCAA is seriously  
5 considering how college athletes are faring under this  
6 system. Not just living as they do but injured as they  
7 often become, racked by poverty if they don't do well and  
8 maybe their stipends are cut off and is there an advantage  
9 in the mandated four-year scholarship. All of these things  
10 are put at play.

11 How are young men, who strap on their helmets on a  
12 football field in front of a 100,000 passionate and paying  
13 customers, how are they doing? How are young men who lace  
14 up their shoes and play basketball for March Madness, which  
15 consumes the nation, is deliberately spread out over a long  
16 period of time so that no kid, 12 years or 10 years or  
17 over, can ever hope to do any homework because there's  
18 always basketball on.

19 Are colleges and universities living up to their end  
20 of the bargain in providing them with a good education?  
21 Are these young athletes entitled to any of the billions of  
22 dollars that are reaped from their athletic services? And  
23 when young men and women put their bodies at risk from  
24 playing sports for their schools, whether women's lacrosse  
25 or men's soccer, do they have adequate health insurance? I



1     don't know. I don't know.

2             And I never go into a restaurant or a barber shop or  
3     anything without asking, sometimes to their discomfort, "Do  
4     you have health insurance?" Because I know the answer is  
5     going to be no. And I care about health care and I get  
6     very unhappy when people who work in places don't make a  
7     lot of money, don't have health insurance.

8             Do the schools and athletic leagues sufficiently  
9     minimize the risk of concussions? And what happens to a  
10    student who is injured before graduation? Can he or she  
11    finish out their studies or does the scholarship run dry?

12            Well, a couple of months ago, we all heard the deeply  
13    troubling comments of Shabazz Napier, the talented  
14    University of Connecticut guard who was the most valuable  
15    player of the 2014 NCAA basketball tournament. In the  
16    midst of a tournament that generated hundreds of millions  
17    of dollars in revenue for the NCAA and its members, Mr.  
18    Napier talked about how sometimes he did not have enough to  
19    eat during college. How did college sports benefit Mr.  
20    Napier on the nights he had to go to bed hungry?

21            Now you can look at that two ways. So there he is,  
22    he's trying to pick out a sensational example of a famous  
23    athlete and turn it to some very large problem. I'm not  
24    trying to do that. I think it is a problem. And the whole  
25    sense of giving students a safety net and a sense of

1 confidence that, if they're not, they don't turn out to be  
2 as good running backs or point guards or whatever and they  
3 don't make the team or they're let off in their third year.  
4 Are they dropped? Do they get the scholarships or what  
5 happens? I don't know.

6 The title of today's hearings is "Promoting the Well-  
7 Being and Academic Success of College Athletes." I want to  
8 have an objective, open-minded and frank discussion on this  
9 subject. I'm going to try my best to. The NCAA has the  
10 same goal as I do.

11 Dr. Emmert is going to tell us that the NCAA's mission  
12 is to protect college athletes from abusive practices and  
13 exploitation and to promote college sports as a means  
14 towards achieving academic excellence.

15 Today, I want to explore whether the NCAA is  
16 fulfilling its mission. We still hear too many reports of  
17 fraudulent academics. We still hear too many tragic  
18 stories of former college athletes who have absolutely  
19 nothing to show for the services they provided even though  
20 they helped generate millions and millions of dollars.  
21 This subject is often discussed, but I'm here to tell you  
22 that -- and if perchance the Democrats should control the  
23 Congress next time, and nobody is quite sure of that, John  
24 Thune has one idea, Bill Nelson has another idea, and you.  
25 Yes, okay.

1 [Laughter.]

2 The Chairman: And that I think that we want to  
3 continue this. We want to make this a continuing surge of  
4 this oversight committee. We have jurisdiction over  
5 sports; all sports. All sports. And we have the ability  
6 to subpoena; we've created a special investigations unit.  
7 We're very into this subject. I personally am. I think  
8 our members are. And so, this is the part of a process  
9 here.

10 So I'm going to have some tough questions for our  
11 panel: Is the NCAA and its member schools, is it simply a  
12 legal cartel; have college sports become a multibillion-  
13 dollar commercial enterprise which is no different than the  
14 other corporate witnesses who have appeared before this  
15 committee; or is the NCAA truly different; and does the  
16 100-year-old organization, in fact, have the best interest  
17 of college athletes? They're large questions and important  
18 to be answered.

19 I turn now to my very distinguished Ranking Member,  
20 Senator John Thune, from the State of South Dakota.

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1           STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN THUNE, U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH  
2     DAKOTA

3           Senator Thune: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding  
4     the hearing today. And I want to thank our panelists for  
5     the opportunity to examine the current state of collegiate  
6     athletics. And, like you, I look forward to hearing from  
7     our witnesses including the President of the National  
8     Collegiate Athletic Association on how the NCAA and its  
9     member institutions are fulfilling the commitments made to  
10    our collegiate student-athletes.

11          I'm an avid sports fan and I know other members of  
12    this committee are as well. As a former basketball player  
13    in high school and college, and the proud father of a  
14    daughter who competed at the Division I level, I certainly  
15    recognize that participation in organized sports not only  
16    requires physical and mental strength, but also teaches  
17    teamwork and other skills that serve you throughout life.  
18    However, the college student-athlete is, and should be, a  
19    student first. Colleges and universities must remember and  
20    prioritize their academic obligation to student-athletes.

21          As the popularity of college sports has grown,  
22    particularly the popularity of college football and men's  
23    and women's basketball, so too has the profitability of  
24    many collegiate athletic programs. In the current  
25    environment, the stakes have been raised both for the

1 student-athlete who wants to succeed and for the university  
2 that has a financial interest in winning games. Increasing  
3 revenues for some schools in conferences, due in large part  
4 to lucrative contracts for the broadcast rights to football  
5 and basketball games, have become more common. Revenues  
6 from ticket sales and merchandizing efforts for some  
7 schools are also significant. And, of course, alumni want  
8 to see their teams win, and may be inspired to contribute  
9 to winning programs.

10 As we'll hear today, the NCAA is a member-driven  
11 organization whose stated mission is "to integrate  
12 intercollegiate athletics into higher education so that the  
13 educational experience of the student-athlete is  
14 paramount." However, major criticism of college sports is  
15 that some institutions appear unable to balance the core  
16 academic mission of the university and the commercial  
17 considerations that often accompany college athletics,  
18 particularly in high-profile sports. Many feel the  
19 commitment to the student-athlete is falling short.

20 Another point of contention involves athletic  
21 scholarships and whether the practice of offering annual,  
22 as opposed to multiyear, scholarships unfairly places  
23 student-athletes at risk of losing their scholarships as a  
24 result of poor-performance or injury. But, while multiyear  
25 scholarships may benefit student-athletes, they may

1     disadvantage smaller schools who can't match the resources  
2     of larger institutions.

3             Clearly, collegiate athletics in America is not  
4     without controversy, and we will hear from some of the  
5     NCAA's most vocal critics today. While I'm sure that  
6     today's hearing will highlight a host of important issues,  
7     I hope we will not lose sight of the positive impact that  
8     amateur athletics has made on the lives of countless  
9     student-athletes. And we must remember that college  
10    athletics is not just about football and basketball.

11            The director of athletics at the University of South  
12    Dakota recently shared the results of the student-athlete  
13    exit interviews he conducts annually to evaluate the  
14    school's athletic program for the vantage point of the  
15    athletes themselves. He underscored two stories that stood  
16    out from this past year's athletes.

17            The athletic director at USD reiterated how Dustin  
18    Gens, a sophomore diver at USD, recovered from open-heart  
19    heart surgery to qualify to dive at the NCAA's Zone  
20    Championships; a feat that would not have been possible  
21    without the work of a dedicated training staff, academic  
22    support, coaches, team, and family. He also noted the  
23    moving story of Hanna Veselik, a sophomore swimmer, who  
24    leaned on friends, family, and teammates to help her  
25    through the tragic loss of her father who passed away early

1 in the season. With this support, Hanna was able to return  
2 to the pool and achieve lifetime best times in all of her  
3 swimming events at the Summit League Championships.

4 As the USD athletic director puts it, "These two are  
5 just a sample of what college athletics should mean. If  
6 you strip away the money, fancy locker rooms, charter  
7 flights, and large budgets, you're left with student-  
8 athletes who often have to overcome personal, social,  
9 economic, academic, and athletic adversity, all just to  
10 compete. But they frequently do it with passion and a  
11 determination that makes us all proud." That's from the  
12 athletic director at the University of South Dakota.

13 Recognizing the challenges exist, it is my hope that  
14 the NCAA, its member institution, the student athletes  
15 themselves, and other stakeholders will seek solutions that  
16 promote the education, health, and well-being of student  
17 athletes and seek to preserve amateurism in collegiate  
18 athletics. This is an area where Congress can provide a  
19 forum, but the solutions are most likely to come from those  
20 most directly involved in the education and development of  
21 student-athletes.

22 Mr. Chairman, thank you again for holding this  
23 hearing, and I look forward to hearing and having an  
24 opportunity to question our witnesses. Thank you.

25 The Chairman: Thank you, sir.

1           What we are going to do now is we are going to hear  
2   the testimony. And then, both Senator McCaskill and  
3   Senator Booker, both of whom are sterling and wonderful  
4   people, are going to get very, very angry at me. Because  
5   I'm going to charge into the regular order and I'm going to  
6   allow Senator Coats to ask the first question, which  
7   violates all the rules of the committee but --

8           Senator McCaskill: Oh, I'm mad.

9           The Chairman: That'll make you a better questioner.

10          Senator Booker: As the most junior member on the  
11   committee, I must say that Senate rules do not allow me to  
12   be mad at you, Chairman.

13          [Laughter.]

14          Senator Coats: And, Mr. Chairman, for what it's  
15   worth, I was under the impression, also, that we were on  
16   the first to arrive and ask questions in order. So I  
17   arrived at 2:10 --

18          The Chairman: See?

19          Senator Coats: -- just so I can be first.

20          The Chairman: What am I going to do?

21          [Laughter.]

22          Senator Coats: Because I didn't want to put you in a  
23   bad spot or breach the rules either.

24          The Chairman: You never do and you are wonderful. So  
25   you will ask the first questions after the two of us.



1           Mr. Rolle, and thank you for being here.

2           And don't be nervous.

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1           STATEMENT OF MYRON LAURENT ROLLE, STUDENT-ATHLETE,  
2           THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF MEDICINE

3           Mr. Rolle:   Okay.

4           The Chairman:   I mean it.

5           Mr. Rolle:   All right.

6           The Chairman:   It's a wonderful opportunity to say  
7           what's in your heart and on your mind.

8           Mr. Rolle:   Yes, sir.

9           First, I want to thank you and the committee for  
10          inviting me here today to share some of my experience and  
11          knowledge on this very important subject; very complicated  
12          subject as well.

13          I've had many conversations with fellow student-  
14          athletes on this issue about the current role of student-  
15          athletes today in this giant scheme of collegiate  
16          athletics. And we often walk away from those conversations  
17          with more questions than answers. So I'm hoping today is a  
18          first step towards answering some of those questions and  
19          providing some context and some clarity to this discussions  
20          so that we can see our student-athletes receive maximum  
21          edification in all aspects of their person, be it a  
22          student, and athlete, a leader, and a man and a woman.  
23          That's very important to me.

24          I wanted start my remarks by beginning at the genesis  
25          of my story. My parents are from the islands of the

1 Bahamas, my brothers are as well. I was born here in the  
2 states and I was raised in New Jersey. I went to high  
3 school in Princeton, New Jersey.

4 And after my schooldays in Princeton, I would go over  
5 to the university and I saw this big poster, a statue, and  
6 trophies of this guy who became my hero. His name was Bill  
7 Bradley. He was just a rock star, in my opinion, an  
8 epitome of what a student-athlete ought to be; college  
9 basketball American, best player in college at a school  
10 like Princeton, Hall-of-Famer, a U.S. Senator, and a Rhodes  
11 Scholar. That's the first time I heard those two words,  
12 Rhodes Scholar, used in the same sentence.

13 And once I finished high school in Princeton, I had 83  
14 scholarship offers to go anywhere I want to to play  
15 football and I was rated the number one high school  
16 prospect in the country by ESPN. I decided to go to  
17 Florida State. And when I got to Tallahassee on campus,  
18 first thing I did was go to the Office of National  
19 Fellowships and tell them that I wanted to be a Rhodes  
20 Scholar like my hero Bill Bradley. If he did it, I want to  
21 try and do it as well. And so, three years later, I was  
22 fortunate to earn that scholarship.

23 Then, I went to see my teachers and academic advisors  
24 at FSU and tell them that I want you guys to help increase  
25 my intellectual capital so one day I can be an outstanding

1 pediatric neurosurgeon, like another one of my influences,  
2 Dr. Ben Carson. Now, I'm a second year medical student  
3 hopefully able to do that in the future.

4 And lastly, I went to my strength coaches and my  
5 athletic trainers and my football coaches, Bobby Bowden  
6 included, and told them that I want them to equip my body  
7 and get me ready for a career as a national football  
8 player. And fortunately, I was able to be drafted by the  
9 Titans and play for the Steelers as well.

10 Now, it may sound like my story is pristine and ideal,  
11 and maybe used as the poster child for which you want a  
12 collegiate student-athlete to have experienced, but I will  
13 say that my story is quite rare and unique. And some  
14 people even call it an anomaly because, outside of Senator  
15 Cory Booker, the last major Division I football player to  
16 earn a Rhodes Scholarship was a guy named Pat Haden. And  
17 that was in the 1970s, and played at USC, and played for  
18 the Las Angeles Rams as well; as a quarterback.

19 There are very few student-athletes who I've come in  
20 contact with that have had the same infrastructure as I've  
21 had; the family support, had the foresight, not come from a  
22 broken school system in high school, and not come from a  
23 broken family who are able to engage in their college  
24 experience and maximize their time.

25 Many more of my teammates and friends and fellow

1 student-athletes struggled in the college environment; they  
2 struggled mightily, struggled economically. Because, now,  
3 with the scholarship stipend that they receive they became,  
4 believe it or not, the main breadwinners for their families  
5 and would have to send some of their scholarship money home  
6 to take care of their immediate and extended family.

7       They also struggled academically as well. A lot of  
8 them would go through this academic machinery in their  
9 colleges and be spit out at the end of that machine left  
10 torn, worn and asking questions, and with really no  
11 direction, no guidance, on where they should go; no  
12 purpose, no idea of their trajectory and sometimes left  
13 with a degree in hand that didn't behoove any of their  
14 future interest.

15       So I hope today we can shed light on this aspect, as  
16 you said, Chairman Rockefeller, that we are really pouring  
17 energy and life and money and exposure, and highlighting on  
18 T.V., the life of the athlete. But I believe that we're  
19 still falling a bit short of edifying and improving,  
20 augmenting, the aspect of the students; the person, the  
21 man, the woman, and even the philanthropist and the leader.

22       And I believe if we can do that, we can not only see  
23 our student-athletes at these major schools go on to be  
24 productive athletes in the professional ranks but, more  
25 importantly, be productive leaders and citizens that go on

1 to be leaders of industry and leaders of men, leaders of  
2 women, and just really have an indelible impact as they go  
3 on into their future.

4 So thank you for having me here. And I'm looking  
5 forward to joining this discussion.

6 [The prepared statement of Mr. Rolle follows:]

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1           The Chairman: Thank you very, very much.

2           And now, Devon Ramsay.

3           Welcome.

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1           STATEMENT OF DEVON JAHMAI RAMSAY, FORMER COLLEGE  
2     FOOTBALL PLAYER, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

3           Mr. Ramsay: Good afternoon, Chairman Rockefeller.

4           The Chairman: Devon, right? Yes.

5           Mr. Ramsay: Good afternoon, Chairman Rockefeller and  
6     members of the committee. It is an honor and a pleasure to  
7     have this opportunity to be in your presence and share my  
8     story and thoughts on the current state of college  
9     athletics. Let me first thank you and your staff for the  
10    invitation.

11          I was born to Sharon Lee and Devon Anthony Ramsay on  
12    December 8, 1988 in Red Bank, New Jersey. My mother has  
13    always valued a strong education and has sent me to the  
14    Rumson County Day School, which was a Blue Ribbon private  
15    winning school that covered kindergarten through eighth  
16    grade. At Rumson, I excelled in the classroom and  
17    participated in athletics. And by the time it was for me  
18    to leave, I had the opportunity to go to the Lawrenceville  
19    School, which is right down the road in Princeton that I  
20    played against Myron.

21          [Laughter.]

22          Mr. Ramsay: I decided this would be the best academic  
23    and athletic environment for me. I would go on to have a  
24    successful academic and athletic career, graduating in  
25    2007. And I decided to sign my letter of intent to go to



1 the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. And what  
2 drew me to that school was not only its esteemed reputation  
3 as a top academic institution but also as the new hire of  
4 then new head coach, Butch Davis. This showed that the  
5 university had an all-around commitment to excellence.

6 Now, my career at the University of North Carolina has  
7 been one filled with adversity. I've undergone five  
8 surgeries, been through three head coaches, and been asked  
9 if I wanted to transfer or if I wanted to take a medical  
10 redshirt. However, despite all this, I managed to succeed;  
11 being named an offensive starter for another six years and,  
12 by NFL draft analyst Mel Kiper, named the top three in my  
13 position.

14 But most importantly, I got my degree in public policy  
15 with a concentration of business. After graduating, I  
16 moved back to Red Bank, where I would pursue my hopes of  
17 making an NFL team. However, I didn't make the team at  
18 Tampa Bay.

19 Now, in the summer of 2010, two of my teammates had  
20 violated NCAA rules and attended a party thrown by  
21 sports agents. The University of North Carolina then  
22 launched their own investigation into the matter and  
23 discovered several potential counts of academic fraud.  
24 After the final practice of the week, before we played  
25 Clemson, I was told to report to one of the conference

1 rooms and brought in for questioning by University  
2 officials. Before the questioning began, I was told that  
3 this conversation would be recorded and was asked if I  
4 needed a lawyer. I thought I had been called in there to  
5 see if they could find any more leads for the  
6 investigation, but then they began to ask me about my  
7 definition academic fraud, academic dishonesty and  
8 plagiarism. And that is when they brought up a two-year-  
9 old email correspondence between myself and a tutor. In  
10 the said email, I ask the university's tutor for help with  
11 grammar and overall quality in the paper. And she replied  
12 by adding four to five sentences to a two and half page  
13 paper.

14 They ask me if this is the exact same paper I turned  
15 in. However, I couldn't remember since it was two years  
16 ago. In the following four weeks that I was held out of  
17 competition, they sent me to the University's Honor Court.  
18 And the Attorney General of the Honor Court said that there  
19 was no case here; that there wasn't enough evidence. They  
20 had no final version of the paper, it wasn't submitted  
21 electronically and, I don't know, most people don't keep  
22 papers from two years ago.

23 As I was being held out by UNC, an official from the  
24 compliance office proposed that if I were to plead guilty  
25 after being held out for so many games, that the NCAA

1 would, in fact, allow me to play. At this time, I believe  
2 that the UNC's compliance which was very well versed in  
3 NCAA policy. However, it was a shocking blow that the NCAA  
4 then ruled me guilty of academic fraud which strips away my  
5 remaining eligibility and tarnishes my reputation.

6 After coming to the realization that UNC was more  
7 concerned with penalties and losses of scholarships than  
8 protecting one of its own, my mother and I set out to find  
9 lawyers that would hopefully have my best interests at  
10 heart. However, none would stand against the NCAA nor its  
11 membership.

12 Fortunately for me, Robert Orr, a State Supreme Court  
13 judge, reached out to my mother after reading an article  
14 that she had been involved with in The News and Observer.  
15 Without Judge Orr's legal knowledge and tenacity, I would  
16 have no one to turn to. As we went through the appeals  
17 process, which was possible with the endorsement of the  
18 University of North Carolina, the leadership at UNC once  
19 again wanted me to take a plea for a reduced sentence.  
20 However, Judge Orr, my mother and I needed to have my name  
21 unsullied. By going back and looking at the original  
22 interview, reviewing a lack of evidence and disregarding  
23 the guided testimony, the NCAA overturned its ruling and  
24 reinstated my eligibility.

25 Unfortunately, the first game of the next season, I

1     tore three ligaments in my knee. After receiving my sixth  
2     year of eligibility, I was not able to return to the field  
3     of play until my final game; which I participated in two  
4     plays.

5             Now, one of the things that was, looking back at my  
6     career, that I wish I could have partaken in was in  
7     internships. A few of my friends from Lawrenceville went  
8     on to play at the Ivy League. It's not as demanding as,  
9     you know, high-level Division I football. They were  
10    allowed to go and pursue other things during the summer.  
11    And upon graduation, some of my friends got great job  
12    offers.

13            An internship gives you direction, teaches you  
14    valuable life lessons and prepares you for a level of  
15    professionalism. At a competitive football school,  
16    completing an internship is almost impossible. In order to  
17    be eligible to receive your scholarship stipend during the  
18    summer and granted aid, if you're eligible, one was if you  
19    were enrolled in a certain number of credit hours. I've  
20    seen several teammates attempt to manage school, summer  
21    workouts and their internship. Most of these athletes  
22    ended up quitting their internship because of the sheer  
23    level of exhaustion experience on an average day. Only one  
24    was able to complete this internship because it counted  
25    towards his credit hours so he wasn't required to go to any

1 classes.

2 At the University of North Carolina, football players  
3 are one of the only teams not allowed to participate in  
4 University camps, which would hone skills for those that  
5 would want to get into coaching and create another source  
6 of income. In fact, during a panel discussion about the  
7 documentary "\$chooled: The Price of College Sport," head  
8 coach of the George Mason men's basketball team, Paul  
9 Hewitt, stated that his team has to do an internship before  
10 they graduate; a mandatory one. I think this is a great  
11 practice.

12 If the NCAA truly wants to develop student-athletes  
13 and prepare them for success off the field, than they  
14 should mandate that all athletes complete an internship.  
15 The reason it needs to be mandated is because there exists  
16 a culture that demonizes any activity that won't directly  
17 help a program. Players that go home for a semester, and I  
18 had friends that had done this, are labeled as selfish and  
19 lazy and almost a cancer to the team. But, in fact, he's  
20 just going home. He's still working out. He's just trying  
21 to improve his own value for the likelihood that he's not  
22 going to make the NFL.

23 I've come to realize that there is a void in college  
24 athletics. The NCAA, as an institution, no longer protects  
25 the student-athlete. They are more concerned with signage

1 and profit margins. As I was called up to the initial  
2 meeting with UNC's investigators, I wasn't aware that I  
3 needed to defend myself against my university and the NCAA.  
4 And, as a student, I lack the resources and the knowledge  
5 to defend myself against an 80 year-old institution. My  
6 family lacked the resources to hire a lawyer. And if I  
7 refused to be interviewed, I would have been held down  
8 until I testified.

9 In the NCAA, college football players have a very  
10 small window of opportunity to prove our worth to the NFL.  
11 Therefore, every game you miss is a lost opportunity and a  
12 means to devalue your worth. There needs to exist an  
13 entity that quickly and effectively advocates for the  
14 student-athlete. I was extremely fortunate that Judge Orr  
15 reached out to my family to help. However, it terrifies me  
16 how many students might have had their eligibility unjustly  
17 taken and their reputation damaged.

18 The student-athlete has a short career and is an  
19 amazing new, renewable resource. And because of that, the  
20 NCAA is able to take advantage of naïve young men and  
21 women. There needs to be an organization that will, in  
22 fact, protect the college athlete and has no ties to the  
23 financial being of the Universities or to the NCAA.  
24 Allowing the NCAA continue to intimidate schools and  
25 athletes is dangerous and unfair. To quote a famous Roman

1 poet, "Who will watch the watchmen?"

2 Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you

3 today.

4 [The prepared statement of Mr. Ramsay follows:]

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1           The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Ramsay. We  
2    appreciate it a lot.

3           Mr. Taylor Branch is from Baltimore. He is an author  
4    and an historian. And he's written one of the, what I  
5    call, five best books ever written in terms of my own  
6    reading preferences, about the civil rights movement and  
7    the development of it. And he's also an expert on this  
8    subject and has written extensively.

9           We welcome you, sir.

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1           STATEMENT OF TAYLOR BRANCH, AUTHOR AND HISTORIAN

2           Mr. Branch: Thank you.

3           Thank you, Senator Rockefeller. Thank you, Senator  
4 Thune. Thank you, members of the Committee, guests, sports  
5 fans and educators. I am honored to be here.

6           The subject for your hearing today, college sports and  
7 the well-being of college athletes, is full of mine fields  
8 and myths. I hope to offer some summary comments for  
9 possible discussion under three headings: Amateurism,  
10 balance and equity.

11          Amateurism has become the distinguishing feature of  
12 NCAA governance. It is identified in official  
13 pronouncements as the bedrock principle of college  
14 athletics. The NCAA Bylaws define and mandate amateur  
15 conduct as follows: "Student athletes shall be amateurs in  
16 an intercollegiate sport, and their participation should be  
17 motivated primarily by education and by the physical,  
18 mental and social benefits to be derived. Student  
19 participation in intercollegiate athletics is an avocation,  
20 and student athletes should be protected from exploitation  
21 by professional and commercial enterprises." That's NCAA  
22 Bylaw 2.9.

23          The word "amateur" reflects conflicted attitudes about  
24 money, youth, and the purposes of recreation. Its broad  
25 ambivalence has opened a muddled flexibility in public

1 habits, allowing the United States to become the world's  
2 only nation to develop commercialized sports at  
3 institutions of higher learning. Even the major  
4 universities involved, which were founded to uphold  
5 intellectual rigor, routinely ignore or excuse the  
6 contradictions of a multibillion-dollar side industry built  
7 on their undergraduate students.

8 Confusion and mythology begin with the word itself.  
9 Dictionary synonyms for "amateur" range from a wholesome  
10 "enthusiast" or "devotee" to a bumbling "dabbler" or  
11 "rookie." Merriam-Webster gives a stinging illustration of  
12 the latter tone: "The people running that company are a  
13 bunch of amateurs." Accordingly, the same word expresses  
14 praise and scorn without distinction. This ambiguity gains  
15 reinforcement in our uniquely designed popular world of  
16 sports, where fans are encouraged to cheer and boo without  
17 thinking objectively.

18 The ideal of ancient Greek amateurism has always been  
19 misleading, because the athletes of Olympus actually  
20 competed for huge prizes. Aristotle researched well-  
21 rewarded champions back through records of the earliest  
22 Olympic festivals. And modern scholars have confirmed  
23 evidence of high-stakes victory and loss. "Ancient  
24 amateurism is a myth," noted the classicist David Young.  
25 "Purists who refused to mix money with sport did not exist

1 in the ancient world," concludes Michael B. Poliakoff, "and  
2 victors' monuments boast of success in the cash competition  
3 as openly as they boast of victory in the sacred contests."

4 Golf legend Bobby Jones is enshrined in modern sports  
5 history as the ideal, as the model amateur, and gentlemen  
6 who decline every championship prize he earned. His  
7 reputation fits the true definition of amateur, which is  
8 derived from the Latin "amator" or "lover," specifying one  
9 who chooses to pursue a skill out of subjective devotion  
10 rather than the hope of financial gain. Some non-college  
11 sports still allow athletes to declare and renounce amateur  
12 status.

13 Significantly, students themselves called themselves  
14 amateurs when they invented intercollegiate sports after  
15 the Civil War. Until 1905, students retained general  
16 control of the new phenomenon in everything from scheduling  
17 and equipment to ticket sales. They recruited alumni to  
18 construct Harvard Stadium in 1903 with zero funds from the  
19 college. "Neither the faculties nor other critics assisted  
20 in building the structure of college athletics," declared  
21 Walter Camp, Yale class of 1880, who became the father of  
22 college football in his spare time.

23 The NCAA, created in 1906, slowly transformed the  
24 amateur tradition inherited from college athletes. Its  
25 board declared a goal of total faculty control as late as

1 1922, and the weak NCAA organization could not hire its  
2 first full-time staff member until 1951. After that,  
3 however, burgeoning revenue from television contracts  
4 allowed NCAA officials to enforce amateur rules as an  
5 objective requirement rather than a subjective choice.  
6 This is problematic because attempts to regulate personal  
7 motivation and belief commonly run afoul of the  
8 Constitution. Even if internal standards were allowed, and  
9 somehow could be measured, NCAA rules contradict the key  
10 requirement that college sports must be an avocation, or  
11 calling, which comes from "vocare," to call, and "vox,"  
12 voice, by denying athletes an essential voice. NCAA rules  
13 govern the players by fiat, excluding them from membership  
14 and consent.

15 Balance. Checks and balances are required for sound  
16 governance, and the NCAA structure is unbalanced in at  
17 least four basic respects. First, NCAA enforcement suffers  
18 an inherent conflict of interest between alleged violations  
19 in football as opposed to basketball, because the  
20 organization lost its television revenue from college  
21 football and is almost wholly dependent on a sole-source  
22 broadcasting contract for the March Madness basketball  
23 tournament.

24 Second, the NCAA structure creates a false impression  
25 of common practice between the very few schools that

1 aggressively commercialize college athletics, roughly 100  
2 to 150 of some 1,200 NCAA members, and the vast majority of  
3 schools with small crowds and negligible sports revenue.  
4 An elastic NCAA amateurism stretches all the way from a  
5 Division III cross-country race to Notre Dame Football on  
6 ESPN.

7       Third, NCAA officials resolutely obscure differences  
8 between commercialized sports and the academic mission on  
9 campus. In the classroom, colleges transfer highly valued  
10 expertise to students, but this traditional role is  
11 reversed in big-time sports. There, athletes deliver  
12 highly valued expertise to the colleges. This distinction  
13 is basic and fundamental to your committee's stated purpose  
14 of promoting educational integrity. College athletes are,  
15 or should be, students in the classroom and competitor  
16 players in the athletic department. They face multiple  
17 roles in careers like many Americans, but their conflicting  
18 demands cannot be managed or balanced unless they are  
19 squarely recognized. The NCAA undermines this logical  
20 separation by insisting that sports are an educational  
21 supplement for a hybrid creature under its jurisdiction  
22 called the student-athlete. Universities implicitly concur  
23 by offloading some of their academic responsibility to the  
24 NCAA.

25       Fourth, the NCAA and its member schools strip rights

1 from athletes uniquely as a class. No college tries to ban  
2 remunerative work for all students, and no legislature  
3 could or would write laws to confiscate earnings from one  
4 targeted group of producers in a legitimate enterprise. On  
5 the contrary, universities sponsor extensive work study  
6 programs, and student-citizens everywhere exercise freedom  
7 to market skills everywhere from bookstore jobs and pizza  
8 delivery to the entrepreneurial launch of Facebook, unless  
9 they are athletes. For college athletes alone, the NCAA  
10 brands such industry unethical.

11 Equity. Basic fairness requires attention to the  
12 rights and freedom of participants above the convenience of  
13 observers. Applied to college sports, this principle would  
14 mean that no freedom should be abridged because of athletic  
15 status. While I am neither a lawyer nor a professional  
16 economist, I find ample historical evidence that experts  
17 object to collusion in the NCAA's regulatory structure.

18 In Microeconomics, a prominent textbook, professors  
19 Robert Pindyck and Daniel Rubinfeld make the NCAA a  
20 featured example of an economic cartel that reaps anti-  
21 competitive profit. The courts have agreed in two landmark  
22 cases. In NCAA versus Board of Regents of the University  
23 of Oklahoma in 1984, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the  
24 NCAA's exclusive control of college football broadcasts as  
25 an illegal restraint of trade. Overnight, the major

1     football schools won the freedom to sell every broadcast  
2     their markets would bear, without having to share proceeds  
3     with the smaller schools through the NCAA. "We eat what we  
4     kill," bragged one official at the University of Texas.

5             In *Law v. the NCAA*, 1998, assistant coaches won a \$54  
6     million settlement along with an order vacating the NCAA's  
7     \$16,000 limit on starting salaries. The compensation of  
8     assistant football coaches has cracked the \$1 million  
9     barrier since then with salaries skyrocketing even in non-  
10    revenue sports. By 2010, the University of Florida paid  
11    its volleyball coach \$365,000.

12            Thus, the supervisors of college sports have won  
13    economic freedom, and they enjoy enormous largesse from a  
14    distorted cartel marketplace that now shackles only the  
15    most vital talent: the players. "To reduce bargaining  
16    power by student athletes," wrote Pindyck and Rubinfeld,  
17    "the NCAA creates and enforces rules regarding eligibility  
18    and the terms of compensation."

19            NCAA officials, of course, steadfastly assert that  
20    their whole system is devoted to the educational welfare  
21    and benefit of the college athletes. "Football will never  
22    again be placed ahead of educating, nurturing and  
23    protecting young people," NCAA president Mark Emmert,  
24    sitting near me, vowed when he announced NCAA sanctions for  
25    the recent scandal at Penn State.

1           Such professions must be reconciled somehow with NCAA  
2 rules that systematically deny college athletes a full  
3 range of guaranteed rights from due process and  
4 representation to the presumption of innocence. These  
5 rules can turn words on their head, like Alice in  
6 Wonderland. The NCAA's bedrock pledge to avoid commercial  
7 exploitation of college athletes, for instance, aims to  
8 safeguard them from getting paid too much, or at all,  
9 rather than too little in the ordinary usage of the word  
10 exploit; to use selfishly for one's ends, as employers who  
11 exploit their workers.

12           In closing, I would suggest one hopeful precedent from  
13 the past work of your Commerce Committee. This is not the  
14 first time that the governance of amateur sports, together  
15 with the education of college athletes, has presented a  
16 daunting tangle of passions and vested interests.

17           Fifty years ago, an early bonanza in sports revenue  
18 intensified the bitter feud between the NCAA and the  
19 Amateur Athletic Union, AAU, which controlled access to the  
20 Olympic Games. AAU leaders accused an "unpatriotic" NCAA  
21 of sabotaging U.S. chances to win medals. They claimed  
22 that college athletes already were paid, and therefore not  
23 amateurs at all since the NCAA approved athletic  
24 scholarships in 1956. NCAA officials retorted that AAU  
25 coaches were parasites on college training facilities.



1           These two sides nitpicked, boycotted, sabotaged, and  
2   disqualified each other until President Kennedy enlisted no  
3   less a mediator than General Douglas MacArthur to foster  
4   U.S. hopes for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The squabbling  
5   exhausted MacArthur, who recommended a Blue Ribbon  
6   commissions that brought proposals eventually to this  
7   committee.

8           Your predecessors shaped what became the Olympic and  
9   Amateur Sports Act of 1978. One key provision of that law  
10  secured for active athletes a 20 percent share of the  
11  voting seats on each of the 39 new U.S. Olympic Committees.  
12  Though small, this representation soon transformed amateur  
13  sports. Granted a voice, athletes tipped the balance on  
14  governing committees in the United States and inexorably  
15  around the globe. Marathon races, then tennis tournaments,  
16  recognized a right for players to accept prize money and  
17  keep their Olympic eligibility. New leagues sprang up to  
18  popularize volleyball and other games with corporate  
19  sponsors. Olympic officials came to welcome professional  
20  competitors in every sport except boxing.

21          By 1986, when the International Olympic Committee  
22  expunged the word amateur from its bylaws, the modified  
23  games defied every prediction of disasters. Indeed, most  
24  people scarcely don't notice the change. Some of you  
25  helped recognize success in the revised Ted Stevens Olympic

1 and Amateur Sports Act of 1998.

2 This example suggests a good place to start. Wherever  
3 possible, make athletes true citizens rather than glorified  
4 vassals in college sports. Where markets extend into  
5 college sports, make them fair and competitive. Recognize  
6 the rights, uphold the rights, of college athletes. Give  
7 them a voice, and challenge universities, in turn, to make  
8 wise, straightforward decisions about the compatibility of  
9 commercialized sports with education.

10 Thank you.

11 [The prepared statement of Mr. Branch follows:]

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1           The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Branch.

2           And I want to be very critical of myself because what  
3   the general rule around here is that witnesses speak for  
4   five or six minutes, but I failed to make that clear. And  
5   so, we just got --

6           Mr. Branch: It says five minute right here, but I  
7   wasn't watching.

8           [Laughter.]

9           Mr. Branch: Sorry.

10          The Chairman: But I want to just sort of keep it to  
11   five or six or seven minutes. That would be the best. And  
12   I thank you for your testimony. And it was my fault.

13          Mr. Bradshaw, who is the former Director of Athletics  
14   at Temple University, we welcome you, sir.

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1           STATEMENT OF WILLIAM D. BRADSHAW, FORMER DIRECTOR OF  
2     ATHLETICS, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

3           Mr. Bradshaw: Chairman Rockefeller, Ranking Member  
4     Thune, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, good  
5     afternoon. Your invitation to me to testify today about  
6     promoting the well-being and academic success of our  
7     student-athletes is much appreciated.

8           It is an honor for me, this afternoon, to represent  
9     the 1,600-plus institutions and 11,000-plus individual  
10    members of NACDA and its athletics administrators who are  
11    the practitioners of our enterprise and representing, in  
12    excess, of 500,000 student-athletes across all three NCAA  
13    divisions, as well as the NAIA and junior-community  
14    colleges.

15          NACDA serves as the professional association for those  
16    in the field on intercollegiate athletic administration.  
17    It provides educational opportunities and serves as a  
18    vehicle for networking the exchange of information and  
19    advocacy on behalf of the association.

20          My career in higher education includes positions as an  
21    assistant baseball coach, head baseball coach, director of  
22    alumni and, before retiring a year ago, 36 years as a  
23    Division I athletic director at three universities. My  
24    athletic career includes three years as a student-athlete  
25    and one as a walk-on, followed by two years as a

1 professional baseball player in the Washington Senators  
2 organization where two broken ankles influenced a career  
3 change and a Master's Degree. I trust my ankles are ankles  
4 with you Washington Senators here today.

5 These experiences proved valuable to my subsequent 36  
6 year as a Division I athletic director at La Salle, DePaul,  
7 and Temple Universities, retiring from this wonderful  
8 profession one year ago.

9 During the five decades of my career, I have seen  
10 significant improvements and the commitment by universities  
11 to the academic, athletic and personal experiences of  
12 student-athletes. From state-of-the-art academic support  
13 services, elite coaching and training, athletic facilities,  
14 to the much improved equipment, safety requirements and  
15 emerging NCAA permissive benefits, our student-athletes  
16 have never had it better. And yet, we know we can do  
17 better. We, as educators, are committed to maximizing and  
18 developing the enormous academic, athletic and personal  
19 potential that our talented student-athletes bring to our  
20 universities.

21 In assessing the well-being of student-athletes, it's  
22 important to examine our university's performances and  
23 trends in the areas of academics, financial security,  
24 health safety and life skills.

25 Academics. Over the past 20 years, graduation rates,

1 by any metric, have drastically improved for student-  
2 athletes. In 2013, the Graduation Success Rate measure for  
3 all student-athletes in Division I was 82 percent,  
4 including 71 percent for Division I FBS football  
5 participants, and 73 percent for men's basketball student-  
6 athletes.

7 Among the reasons for this dramatic improvement in  
8 graduation rates are: Increased NCAA requirements for  
9 initial eligibility and continued eligibility, and  
10 university's proactive response to the Academic Progress  
11 Rate metric instituted by the NCAA to measure individual  
12 teams' classroom performance each semester.

13 Health and safety. While universities strive to use  
14 best practices, we can never do too much to ensure the  
15 health and safety of our student-athletes. The prevention  
16 and detection of concussions, for example, particularly in  
17 the sport of football, remain as one of the highest  
18 priorities for every athletic director at every level.  
19 Best practices that have become commonplace include:  
20 Hiring strength and conditioning coaches, dieticians, and  
21 nutritionists; required seminars for all student-athletes  
22 to discuss drugs and alcohol, assault, date rape, and  
23 gambling, as well as comprehensive regular drug testing and  
24 follow-up.

25 Financial security. As we all know, the real cost to

1 attend college have risen above inflation for years,  
2 causing many students to have massive debt upon graduation  
3 and proving too costly for others to even attend their  
4 college of their choice. Currently, Division I student-  
5 athletes receive \$2.1 billion in athletic scholarships, and  
6 this total will continue to escalate with anticipated NCAA  
7 legislation covering real costs of education, combined with  
8 the annual increases in tuition, room and board, books and  
9 fees.

10 In addition to the real value of an athletic  
11 scholarship, and according to the U.S. Census data, a  
12 college graduate, on the average, earns \$1 million more  
13 over a lifetime than a non-graduate. Other financial  
14 benefits for student-athletes include: universities'  
15 health insurance; NCAA catastrophic insurance; multi-year  
16 athletic grants; and student assistance funds available to  
17 conference offices.

18 The vastly improved conditions afforded student-  
19 athletes have resulted in their unprecedented performances  
20 in the classroom, on the playing fields, and in preparation  
21 for life. Few other campus activities or clubs produce  
22 such natural diversity as intercollegiate athletics,  
23 bringing together young men and women from various races,  
24 religions, nations, beliefs, with the common denomination  
25 being their academic profiles and athletic skills.

1           Less than 1 percent of Division I student-athletes  
2           will ever participate in professional sports, and that  
3           professional career, on average, lasts only a few years.  
4           This reality underscores the value of a college education,  
5           an education that many young men and women could not afford  
6           without an athletic scholarship.

7           In our profession of intercollegiate athletics, the  
8           student-athletes under our care are the center of our  
9           universe, and the most important people to consider in our  
10          decision making. If we always ask ourselves, before  
11          allocating resources, building facilities, or hiring  
12          coaches, is this decision in the best interest of our  
13          student athletes, then I believe that answer has helped us  
14          to arrive at the right decision.

15          Any of your questions are most welcome. Thanks,  
16          again, for inviting me to be with you this afternoon.

17          [The prepared statement of Mr. Bradshaw follows:]

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1           The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Bradshaw.

2           Now Dr. Richard Southall, who is a professor at the  
3 University of South Carolina, the Director of the College  
4 Sports Research Institute.

5           Welcome, sir.

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1           STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. SOUTHALL, ASSOCIATE  
2   PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, DIRECTOR, COLLEGE  
3   SPORT RESEARCH INSTITUTE

4           Dr. Southall:   Thank you.

5           Chairman Rockefeller, Ranking Member Thune, and  
6   distinguished committee members, thank you for the  
7   opportunity to speak before you today.  My initial draft of  
8   my comments was only 35 minutes.  So thank you for giving  
9   me the advice.

10          As director of the College Sport Research Institute at  
11   the University of South Carolina, my comments today are not  
12   off-the-cuff remarks, but informed by sociological,  
13   organizational and economic theories, as well as empirical  
14   studies, and drawn extensively from NCAA documents.  They  
15   reflect not only my work, but also that of numerous  
16   colleagues and scholars.

17          While I am well aware there are distinct socio-  
18   demographic differences within and between NCAA divisions,  
19   as well as between NCAA revenue and Olympic sports, my  
20   testimony today will focus on how, within big-time college  
21   sport, NCAA members have sought to protect their business  
22   interests at the expense of the well-being and academic  
23   success of NCAA profit-athletes.

24          For several decades, the NCAA was aware that as the  
25   scale of both revenue, generation and spending continue to

1 grow, there is a general sense that big-time athletics is  
2 in conflict with the principle of amateurism and that  
3 increased governmental and public scrutiny is likely if  
4 graduation rates do not improve in underperforming sports.

5 Consequently, in 2003 the NCAA embarked on a two-phase  
6 organizational rebranding strategy that was part of an  
7 aggressive public and media relations agenda that addressed  
8 critics and provided an alternative to what the NCAA  
9 described as the doggerel of cynics.

10 First, the NCAA created a term of art, The Collegiate  
11 Model of Athletics, as a better understood definition of  
12 amateurism that isolates the principle to the way in which  
13 college athletes are viewed without imposing its  
14 avocational nature on revenue-producing opportunities.  
15 Notably, Division I revenues have more than doubled since  
16 2003.

17 Tellingly, internal NCAA documents reveal protecting  
18 the collegiate model is nearly, by definition, the primary  
19 focus of the office of the NCAA president.

20 Concurrently, in an effort to maintain the perception  
21 of a clear line of demarcation between college and  
22 professional sport, and offer support for the effectiveness  
23 of its new Academic Progress Program, the NCAA developed  
24 the Academic Progress Rate, or APR, and Graduation Success  
25 Rate, or GSR. Since 2003, the NCAA has consistently sought

1 to utilize these rates as proof that big-time college sport  
2 has one clear focus: Education.

3 However, several items are noteworthy. One, neither  
4 the Federal Graduation Rate, FGR, mandated by Congress, nor  
5 the NCAA's GSR, is perfect or inherently a more accurate  
6 metric. They utilize different sampling and statistical  
7 analyses to examine different cohorts. In short, they are  
8 different graduation rates.

9 Two, the GSR consistently returns a rate 12 to 25  
10 percent higher than the FGR. As far back as 1991, the NCAA  
11 knew that removing eligible dropouts, in other words  
12 transfers or athletes who leave school in good academic  
13 standing, from the GSR cohort would result in a markedly  
14 higher success rate.

15 Three, since there is no comparable national-level GSR  
16 for the general student body to report GSR and FGR data  
17 simultaneously in press releases or data-set tables,  
18 invites inappropriate comparisons and fosters confusion  
19 among the general public.

20 While the NCAA National Office has sought to protect  
21 its collegiate model, academic support staffs labor within  
22 a system that too often depends on an amorphous special-  
23 talented admission process, focuses on maintaining  
24 eligibility and results in athletes often clustering or  
25 being steered to majors conducive to their practice and

1 competition; or, in other words, work schedules.

2 Tellingly, several authorities within the NCAA and  
3 university governance structures recognize clustering and  
4 scheduling of easy courses as problems.

5 In addition, contrary to the NCAA's public posturing  
6 that they are just normal students, profit-athletes tend,  
7 in important respects, to be physically, culturally and  
8 socially isolated from the campus community. They live in  
9 a tightly controlled parallel universe indicative of  
10 Goffman's total institutions.

11 Through the steady drumbeat of sophisticated and  
12 subtle institutional propaganda, the NCAA has sought  
13 spontaneous consent to a mythology that big-time college  
14 sport a priori enhances the educational experience of  
15 "student-athletes."

16 Propaganda is effective because it exploits people's  
17 reluctance to intellectually engage with any oppositional  
18 alternative views. Since 2003, while the NCAA has  
19 successfully embedded its Collegiate Model of Athletics  
20 including the Graduation Success Rate, into the public's  
21 consciousness, there has been little progress in ensuring  
22 profit-athletes have equal access to educational  
23 opportunities afforded other students.

24 In conclusion, there is clear evidence the NCAA's  
25 Collegiate Model of Athletics not only systematically

1     inhibits access to a world-class university education, but  
2     also exploits profit-athletes by denying them basic  
3     bargaining rights, due process and standard forms of  
4     compensation.

5             I want to thank the committee members for the  
6     opportunity to visit with you today.

7             [The prepared statement of Dr. Southall follows:]

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1           The Chairman: Thank you for your excellent testimony.

2           And, finally, Dr. Mark Emmert who is -- well, you all

3 know who he is.

4           [Laughter.]

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1           STATEMENT OF MARK A. EMMERT, PRESIDENT, THE NATIONAL  
2 COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

3           Dr. Emmert: Thank you, Senator.

4           And good afternoon to you and to Senator Thune and --

5           Senator Booker: Is your microphone on?

6           Dr. Emmert: Thank you. I appreciate that.

7           Is it working now? Can you hear me fine?

8           The Chairman: I notice no difference.

9           Dr. Emmert: Okay.

10          [Laughter.]

11          Dr. Emmert: As a recovering university president,  
12 I've learned to appreciate. So thank you very much.

13          Good afternoon to all of you on the panel. I'm Mark  
14 Emmert. I've served now as the President of the NCAA since  
15 October of 2010 following 30 years as a professor, a  
16 university administrator and a university president. I  
17 certainly appreciate the opportunity to appear before all  
18 of you today and discuss what I agree are very important  
19 issues. And I particularly want to thank you, Mr.  
20 Chairman, for working with us on the timing of this  
21 hearing. It's good that we are able to be here.

22          The NCAA's core purpose, as has already been pointed  
23 out, is to promote the well-being and the success of more  
24 than 460,000 student-athletes as they enjoy both world-  
25 class athletic experiences and receive access to topnotch



1     educations. That's why I've been working diligently with  
2     the Division I Board of Directors, our member universities  
3     and all the stakeholders to drive policy changes that  
4     support student-athlete success and, indeed, address many  
5     of the issues that have already been raised here today.

6             During my tenure, we've enacted more than a dozen key  
7     reforms. Two notable examples are raising academic  
8     standards and add in the opportunity for a multiple-year  
9     scholarships.

10            As we discuss how to improve college sports today,  
11     it's important to understand that the NCAA is a  
12     democratically governed, membership-led association of  
13     nearly 1,100 colleges and universities. As such, neither I  
14     nor any member of my staff have a vote on association  
15     policy or infractions decisions. It's important to note  
16     that, appropriately, in my opinion, university presidents  
17     themselves, are the ultimate decision makers within the  
18     association.

19            Members make rules through a representative process  
20     much as you do in Congress. It is challenging, obviously,  
21     to bring together coaches, athletic administrators, faculty  
22     members, student-athletes and university presidents to  
23     achieve consensus on much of anything, let alone college  
24     sports. And while the pace of change is not what I or many  
25     others would like, the Division I member schools are

1 working very diligently, even as we speak, to create a new  
2 decision making structure that will yield practical and, I  
3 hope, timely results on all of these issues.

4 Before we discuss the challenges at hand, let me be  
5 clear. College sports, in my opinion, works extremely well  
6 for the vast majority of our 460,000 student-athletes. And  
7 while it can and should be modified, the collegiate model  
8 should in fact be preserved because all of the good  
9 provides for so many. Nonetheless, I agree there are very  
10 important changes that need to be made and many university  
11 presidents happen to agree with me.

12 Let me describe the most important ones. First,  
13 student-athletes, in my opinion, should be given a  
14 scholarship for life so they may complete a Bachelor's  
15 Degree even if their education is delayed for any reason  
16 unrelated to a lack of academic progress or serious  
17 misconduct.

18 Second, scholarships should cover the full and actual  
19 cost of attendance not simply tuition, room and board,  
20 books and supplies.

21 Third, NCAA schools must always lead in the area of  
22 health and safety. For example, the NCAA, along with the  
23 variety of medical experts, released recently, new  
24 guidelines that address the diagnosis, the management and  
25 the prevention of sports-related concussions.

1 Fourth, the NCAA must work assertively with all of our  
2 universities on sexual assault prevention and support for  
3 victims. This is a national crisis and we can all do  
4 better.

5 Fifth, while all student-athletes today are covered by  
6 insurance for injuries, and the NCAA covers catastrophic  
7 injuries, any gaps in coverage must be closed.

8 Sixth, the academic success of student-athletes must  
9 remain our ultimate priority. This means providing them  
10 with the time as well as the resources they need to take  
11 advantage of the opportunities at college campuses, as our  
12 two former college athletes have testified.

13 Finally, all changes that are made, these and others,  
14 must maintain a support for Title IX and cannot come at the  
15 cost of student-athletes in women's and non-revenue  
16 generating sports.

17 The NCAA provides countless opportunities to men and  
18 women, including many from low income families who would  
19 not otherwise attend college. In fact, some 82,000 current  
20 student-athletes are first generation college students.  
21 And at the risk of correcting Mr. Bradshaw, it is now \$2.7  
22 billion in athletic scholarships that are provided to  
23 students that make that a reality.

24 Further, NCAA revenues are reinvested in our mission.  
25 Specifically, last year's revenue allowed us to conduct 89

1 national championships in 23 different sports with nearly  
2 50,000 student-athletes participating in those  
3 championships from across the entire country. Those  
4 revenues allowed us to provide \$700 million directly to  
5 colleges and universities in all three divisions. A \$100  
6 million of which was used to cover extra expenses and  
7 emergency expenses for Division I student-athletes.  
8 Further, those revenues allowed us to cover the \$14 million  
9 insurance premium for catastrophic insurance policies for  
10 our student-athletes.

11 College sports are serving student-athletes very, very  
12 well for the most part. Yes, there are changes to both  
13 policy and the culture that are needed, and they require  
14 frank conversations like the one we're having here and  
15 serious actions.

16 I'm committed to working with you and our member  
17 schools to ensure that student-athletes have all the  
18 opportunities for success that they deserve. And I want to  
19 thank you for the invitation, Mr. Chairman, to appear  
20 today. I look forward to taking your questions and working  
21 with you in the future.

22 [The prepared statement of Dr. Emmert follows:]  
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1           The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Emmert.

2           I will start, Senator Thune will follow, and then  
3   Senator Coats. And then, we'll proceed from there.

4           According to your website, and I'm just sort of going  
5   back to some basic stuff, student-athlete health, safety  
6   and well-being remain our top priorities. Yet, in court  
7   papers filed for a lawsuit in which a family has sued the  
8   NCAA after their son died from a brain injury suffered in a  
9   pre-season football practice, the NCAA asserted that "The  
10   NCAA denies that it has a legal duty to protect student-  
11   athletes."

12          I find that extraordinary. Now, I know what your  
13   answer is going to be and that's going to upset me. But,  
14   the question is how do you reconcile your website's  
15   publically stated priorities of promoting health and safety  
16   with your private legal arguments which you will declare  
17   somehow are different; that the NCAA doesn't have a legal  
18   duty to protect student-athletes? You either do or you  
19   don't.

20          Dr. Emmert: I will not quibble about the language. I  
21   think that was, at the very least, a terrible choice of  
22   words created by legal counsel to make a legal argument. I  
23   am not a lawyer. I am not going to defend or deny what a  
24   lawyer wrote in a lawsuit. I will unequivocally state we  
25   have a clear, moral obligation to make sure that we do

1 everything we can to support and protect student-athletes.

2 The Chairman: See, what I perceive is a web of  
3 convenient protection to all parties. You suggested that  
4 there are a number of universities. See, what I really  
5 want to see is I have a panel of subpoenaed universities  
6 presidents from land-grant, publically funded universities  
7 up here. And I think it'll come to that because I think  
8 it's going to have to. I don't know how we're going to  
9 work anything out without it.

10 But you say that was bad language by a lawyer who got  
11 confused or, put later, didn't have a good night's rest; or  
12 whatever it was. And so, you sort of slosh over that.

13 Earlier, you said that there are a number of  
14 universities that want to make a certain number of changes,  
15 which you then enumerated three or four of them. But then,  
16 you've also said, frequently in answers to questions in  
17 other fora that you don't have the authority to do  
18 anything. You don't have a vote, which you said here.  
19 Everything is in the hands of the universities.

20 My cynical self says that universities like things  
21 exactly the way they are because they're making a ton of  
22 money. In fact, they are making so much money and they  
23 have more money than they ever had been before, not all,  
24 but some. That there's been about 120 that make most of  
25 it; 120 universities. I don't know how change is possible.

1           How do you make the case for saying that you can be a  
2 participant in this process of bringing about change when  
3 you say that they don't have to listen to anything you say?

4           Dr. Emmert: Well, I can tell you, Senator, what is  
5 going on right now. In less than a month now, the Division  
6 I board will vote on a completely changed decision making  
7 structure. They will put all of the subjects that we're  
8 describing and discussing here today in the hands of the 65  
9 universities that have the largest revenue. The schools  
10 that are within the five --

11           The Chairman: I'm sorry. I've got to interrupt.

12           Why would you pick the 65 schools that make the most  
13 money? Because, to me, they would be the ones who be the  
14 least likely to want to make any changes at all.

15           Dr. Emmert: Because, quite the contrary, they're the  
16 ones that precisely want to make changes; often changes  
17 that have price tags associated with them. And they want  
18 to make those changes and are often blocked from doing so  
19 by institutions that have less revenue. So if, for  
20 example, you want to move toward a scholarship model that  
21 covers full cost of attendance. Something that the  
22 Division I board, in my first year on the job, twice  
23 passed. It was overridden by the membership of the 350  
24 schools in Division I, predominantly with the support of  
25 the 65 major schools saying this is something we really

1     need and they were blocked from doing so by the other  
2     institutions.

3             So those schools are, indeed, the schools whose  
4     interests are the points that I just enumerated.  Indeed, I  
5     was practically quoting from a letter signed by all the  
6     presidents of PAC-12 and all the presidents of the BIG 10,  
7     all of whom have said "These are the changes we must make  
8     in intercollegiate athletics and we need authority to make  
9     those kinds of changes."

10            The Chairman:  Now, is this the 65 largest  
11     universities or are these also the smaller ones who you say  
12     block progress because it's --

13            Dr. Emmert:  Yes, sir.

14            The Chairman:  -- expensive?

15            Dr. Emmert:  These are the 65 schools that are members  
16     of the five largest revenue conferences:  the FCC, the BIG  
17     12, the BIG 10, the PAC-12 and the ACC.

18            The Chairman:  Would you agree with me, in my final  
19     first round question, that college sports has long  
20     forgotten the word amateurism?  And I'm talking  
21     particularly about the 120 major -- but you know there's a  
22     lot more than that.  That it's just a business and the more  
23     money you could make -- I mean, West Virginia University  
24     signed onto the BIG 12, which guarantees one thing and one  
25     thing only.  And that means that most of the people of West



1 Virginia who are not income, or even moderate income,  
2 cannot go to any games out in the Southwest. Though, West  
3 Virginia University sure makes a ton of money from them.

4 How do you respond to that? Is that right? Is that  
5 fair? Is that progressive?

6 Dr. Emmert: If I may, Senator, there's two questions  
7 that are being asked there. The first is do I believe that  
8 the 120 or so dominant schools, the FBS schools, perhaps to  
9 whom you're referring, have abandoned the concept of  
10 amateurism? And I would say that, no, they have not.

11 I certainly agree with you that the topline revenue,  
12 the expenditures that are going on right now, in college  
13 athletics have unequivocally moved up very sharply in the  
14 past two decades. The fact that schools are investing  
15 those dollars back into their athletic program, makes quite  
16 clear that the universities, themselves, are not doing this  
17 to "turn a profit." Indeed, last year, out of the 1,100  
18 schools, about 23 in all of America had positive cash flow.  
19 In other words, invested all of the money that they had in  
20 college sports and had some left over. Everyone else in  
21 the country put resources into college sports instead of  
22 taking them out.

23 In terms of the changes that occurred in the  
24 construction of the conferences over the past handful of  
25 years, I probably agree with you. I was very disappointed

1 in the changes that conferences sought to make progress in.  
2 They created some significant travel challenges. I  
3 believe, not just for the fans but also for the student  
4 athletes. When you have to go across a country for a  
5 football game, is one thing because that only occurs  
6 occasionally. When it's your volleyball team, your  
7 basketball team, or your soccer team, it means student-  
8 athletes are traveling a great deal at great expense both  
9 in time and energy and commitment. So I was quite  
10 disappointed in not all but many of those changes that  
11 occurred.

12 The Chairman: I thank you and I turn to Ranking  
13 Member Thune.

14 Senator Thune: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 Mr. Emmert, under your presidency, you indicated that  
16 you've taken the initiative to form some of these Division  
17 I subcommittees to address needed changes. And I'm  
18 wondering if you could discuss what you hope to accomplish  
19 with that initiative?

20 Mr. Emmert: Thank you, Senator.

21 First of all, as I mentioned, within a month we'll  
22 see, I hope, the board pass a completely new decision  
23 making structure because of the challenges of the past 24  
24 months of making decisions around a very aggressive reform  
25 agenda. The leadership of the 65 leading universities have

1     said, "We simply have to find a better way to make  
2     progress."

3             They have identified, as their agenda, many of the  
4     items that I just addressed and a handful of others. So  
5     there is a very keen interest in finding, first of all,  
6     ways to provide greater support for student-athletes. We  
7     passed, twice over the past 36 months, a proposal to allow  
8     universities to give student-athletes as a bare minimum an  
9     additional \$2,000 in their scholarship to cover all their  
10    miscellaneous expenses. I believe that the universities,  
11    this fall and no later than January, will approve a  
12    proposal to do something just like that yet again. And I  
13    hope an even more robust model to cover the real legitimate  
14    cost of being a student-athlete.

15            We were able to pass changes that allowed, but didn't  
16    require, multi-year scholarships for a student-athletes  
17    prior to three years ago. The universities were literally  
18    forbidden by NCAA rules about providing multi-year  
19    scholarships. We were able to get a change in the rules to  
20    allow them and I think we're well on our way toward  
21    mandating that they be, in fact, multiple-year commitments  
22    so that student-athletes don't have to worry about whether  
23    or not they're going to be able to finish their degree on  
24    time. I think that is extremely likely to happen.

25            As I mentioned also, there's a very strong interest in

1     this same group of leading universities that cover the  
2     cost, fully, the cost of insurance programs. The vast  
3     majority of universities cover all of those costs today but  
4     it shouldn't be a question. It should be quite clear that  
5     no student-athlete will ever have to cover costs of  
6     insurance or injuries that they are inflicting on them when  
7     they are student-athlete.

8             And I think, finally, we've got to address this issue  
9     of time. The demands that are placed on student-athletes  
10    right now are, in my eyes and I think in the eyes of many  
11    including, I suspect, Mr. Bradshaw, the demands that are  
12    being placed on young men and women; both in terms of  
13    what's required of them for regular coaching, what's  
14    required from informal coaching, what's required simply to  
15    be competitive these days, is far too great a time, a  
16    demand, and we need to find ways -- I completely agree with  
17    Mr. Ramsay, for example.

18            We need to find ways that young men and women can take  
19    advantage of internships, of study abroad opportunities, of  
20    all the things that we know that help prepare them for life  
21    because a very, very tiny fraction of them are ever going  
22    to play professional sport. For virtually all of college  
23    players, their last game is their last game in college.  
24    That's not going to be their profession. Their  
25    professional life and their life in general is going to be

1 changed by having a meaningful degree and meaningful  
2 experiences that go along with that. That means we've got  
3 to create opportunities for them to do the many things that  
4 are available on campuses.

5 Senator Thune: Thanks.

6 Mr. Bradshaw, you bring a unique perspective as former  
7 AD, and as a member institution, taking care of the well-  
8 being of your student-athletes. And I'm told that it was  
9 your practice, while at Temple, to conduct exit interviews  
10 and I'm wondering, and at sometimes those led to  
11 substantive changes in policy and how programs could be  
12 improved. But do you got some examples from those  
13 interviews that you can share with us that led to direct  
14 improvements in the way that Temple addressed the needs of  
15 student-athletes?

16 Mr. Bradshaw: We gathered our best information from  
17 our student-athletes about how they were being treated. As  
18 many of you might know, student-athletes aren't the most  
19 shy people in the world. They -- absolutely. They're like  
20 my teenagers. They let you know when they're hungry, they  
21 let you know when you need things. So the exit interviews  
22 were invaluable because seniors were leaving the  
23 institution.

24 We'd also follow-up. We had questionnaires that we  
25 sent the seniors a month before they left and then went

1 over those questionnaires with the student-athletes, talked  
2 about every facet of their experience at the university.  
3 That was helpful.

4 We also had a captain's council, which was an  
5 aggregate of all the captains from every team that got  
6 together without the coaches, just myself and some  
7 administrators, to hear everything they had to say about  
8 their experience so that we could use that in recruiting  
9 and help to do a lot better job.

10 We also have team meetings with each of the teams  
11 before their seasons to welcome the freshman and also to  
12 gather input from those freshmen about it. And we were  
13 able to gather very valuable things. Like, we had one team  
14 who their practice facility was maybe about 25 minutes from  
15 campus and when they got back in the evening, they weren't  
16 able to get the kind of quality dinner because a lot of the  
17 students had already been in there and things were picked  
18 over. And we were able to extend that time for their meals  
19 for an hour so that those student-athletes could eat.

20 We also had football players who were practicing in  
21 the afternoon, some of them in pre-med. And some of the  
22 courses they were taking were right up against their  
23 practice. We were able to get that football coach to take  
24 those practices in the morning when 97 percent of the  
25 classes that the kids were taking were there. So that was

1     very valuable input right from the center of our universe,  
2     the student-athletes.

3             Senator Thune: My time has expired, Mr. Chairman, but  
4     from the athletic director's standpoint, what role do you  
5     see the AD and the universities playing? I mean, some of  
6     these things you can go above and beyond what the NCAA  
7     requires; correct? I mean there's --

8             Mr. Bradshaw: Yes.

9             Senator Thune: -- a lot of flexibility that's allowed  
10    at the member institutions to make decisions that are the  
11    best interests of their student-athletes.

12            Mr. Bradshaw: And we should.

13            We have the responsibility and its institutional  
14    control. It's not only the Chairman of the Board or  
15    trustees but the president and athletic director should all  
16    be onboard and have similar philosophies and missions and  
17    principles about how that works. And in concert with all  
18    those people because sometimes you need funds to do the  
19    things that you need to do and you need support from the  
20    board and the president.

21            So it's very important that all of us work together to  
22    do that because we're out recruiting other student-athletes  
23    and that's a brand we call "Athletics, the front porch of  
24    the university." It might not be the most important thing  
25    you see when you drive by but it's the most visible

1 messenger of the brand of the university.

2 Senator Thune: Thank you.

3 Mr. Chairman, thank you.

4 The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Thune.

5 Senator Coats.

6 Senator Coats: Mr. Chairman, thank you.

7 Dr. Emmert, thank you for being willing to testify  
8 here. I know you didn't have to do this and I think it's  
9 been very constructive to hear the reforms that you have  
10 initiated and those that you hope to initiate. And it  
11 sounds like there's some real positive things that are  
12 happening relative to the issues that, as you have  
13 acknowledged, are challenges for the NCAA, and challenges  
14 for the universities and challenges for our committee.

15 Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for following  
16 through on your commitment to me and to others that, you  
17 know, we're going to have a good, solid, non-theatrical  
18 investigation and committee process here. Because, I think  
19 we're all on the same page in terms of how can we best  
20 preserve the student-athlete and best provide for them.  
21 How do we address some of the challenges that we're facing  
22 today with the revenues and so forth. And I think this is  
23 a very constructive effort that we're undertaking here.  
24 And I thank you for pulling all that together.

25 Here's what I'm hearing and I'm leading to a question



1 here. But, I'm hearing from our witnesses that there are  
2 many positive things happening and many positive results  
3 coming from being a student-athlete. That opportunities  
4 that are available to athletes that otherwise would not  
5 have been able to get a college experience and a college  
6 degree in the education process.

7 The list of reforms that Dr. Emmert has basically said  
8 these are his proposals, and I think it goes right to what  
9 we are trying to accomplish here: Scholarship for life;  
10 the full and actual cost of attendance payment; leading and  
11 taking the lead in areas of health and safety; addressing  
12 the sexual assault issue which goes across all aspects of  
13 athletics but also college experience, it's not limited to  
14 just one; medical insurance, dealing with those questions;  
15 academic priorities, and we talked about the time issue;  
16 support for Title IX.

17 I mean, it's been remarkable what has happened under  
18 Title IX in terms of the number of women that are able to  
19 participate in athletics, games, scholarships. Many of  
20 those also would not have perhaps had a chance with  
21 scholarship help and support. The vast majority of schools  
22 that, whether Division II or Division III or not in the top  
23 65, and that offer all these opportunities. It's something  
24 we want to preserve, it's something we want to improve.

25 I think we have a president of the NCAA who is a

1 reformer, known as that. That's why he was hired. He's  
2 taken steps already, and willing to take significant steps  
3 forward.

4 Now, obviously, it goes to this question, Dr. Emmert,  
5 of the 65. I was encouraged about your response to the  
6 Chairman's question relative to their interest in  
7 addressing these issues. Now, it's one thing to say that  
8 their willing to do it, it's another thing to do it. So we  
9 wish you success but we understand that it's -- you're the  
10 proposal. You're the initiator but they're the decision  
11 makers.

12 And so, I hope, Mr. Chairman, that over some period of  
13 time here, hopefully relatively soon, we can get a positive  
14 result from that effort. Because, I think that's really  
15 where these major issues fall.

16 But Dr. Emmert, would you just give us one more shot  
17 at the ability to address what I think goes to the root of  
18 the problem, but also to the root of the solution. And  
19 that is that the top 65, which are the revenue generators,  
20 we don't want jeopardize is the other 1,000 or so that  
21 aren't, and put them in a situation where they won't be  
22 able to fulfill Title IX or they won't be able to fulfill  
23 the level of sports that get so many young people the  
24 opportunities to participate and get a college education at  
25 the same time.

1 Dr. Emmert: Yes, Mr. Chairman and Senator Coats. I  
2 think you're asking one of the, well, two of the most  
3 important questions.

4 And first, is a recognition that 100 years ago when  
5 the NCAA was created it was, as Mr. Branch pointed out,  
6 created with some impetus from the White House and Congress  
7 because of all the challenges in college sports. And at  
8 that time, it was determined that college sports should be  
9 appropriately self-governed; that the universities  
10 themselves were capable of providing the right kind of  
11 structure and governance and oversight to make college  
12 sports work effectively for young men and young women. And  
13 we're at a point now where we're going to see, yet again,  
14 whether or not that self-governance system still works. I  
15 have confidence because I know most of these presidents as  
16 colleagues and I know their interests and their  
17 considerations and concerns that provides a mood of  
18 confidence that they want to move forward on the agendas  
19 that I described, plus more, in the coming weeks and  
20 months.

21 Now, I think, Mr. Chairman, this hearing is a useful  
22 cattle prod, if you will, to make sure that everyone  
23 understands that the world is watching. The U.S. Senate is  
24 watching and everyone is paying attention to what  
25 universities are going to do to address these very real and

1 significant issues. I think all of those things, combined,  
2 give me some very positive belief that we're going to wind  
3 up in the right place in a matter of months. Now, if we're  
4 not, then we have another conversation that we can have.  
5 I'm sure. And I have no doubt, sir, that you or your  
6 successors will make sure that we have that conversation.  
7 But I have no concerns about this body or any other trying  
8 to hold universities accountable for the things that they  
9 need to and should be doing.

10 Senator Coats: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time has  
11 expired.

12 Senator Klobuchar: Mr. Chairman, I wanted to note for  
13 the record that Senator Coats, out in the hallway, found  
14 out he just had his tenth grandchild.

15 [Laughter.]

16 Senator Klobuchar: Just for the record.

17 Senator McCaskill: And I heard he cried --

18 [Laughter.]

19 Senator Klobuchar: Oh, I didn't tell her that.

20 [Laughter.]

21 Senator Coats: I had to leave. I cried --

22 Senator McCaskill: We love that.

23 Senator Coats: It's as hard as number one.

24 The Chairman: You don't get to meet, you know, some  
25 kind of a --

1           Senator McCaskill: A guy who cries over his  
2 grandchildren is very cool.

3           Senator Klobchar: We like that.

4           Senator Coats: That's a good thing.

5           Senator Klobuchar: Thank you.

6           Senator Coats: I agree.

7           The Chairman: It's another form of cartel.

8           [Laughter.]

9           The Chairman: Senator Heller, to be followed by --

10          Senator Heller: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I hope this  
11 doesn't get you in trouble also; calling on me next. But I  
12 have a couple things for the record.

13          First, I'd like to submit an opening statement. Your  
14 staff has that.

15          The Chairman: So ordered.

16          [The information referred to follows:]

17          [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Heller: And second, also for the record, is a  
2 USC alum who spoke with Pat Haden just before this hearing.  
3 I'm pretty sure that we usually watch the Trojans beat  
4 Notre Dame on NBC and not on ESPN.

5 Sorry, Mr. Branch.

6 [Laughter.]

7 Senator Heller: No, that's Stanford. I wish I could  
8 say that.

9 Having said that to you, Dr. Emmert, I have a couple  
10 questions. The seven points that you brought up I think  
11 are, what you say you're trying to achieve, I think are  
12 more weaknesses today than they are strengths. If you have  
13 to talk about students having scholarships for life, today  
14 you don't have them. And I think that's a weakness. If  
15 you have to talk about men and women, and having full and  
16 actual coverage of their costs while they're in college, is  
17 a weakness because it's something that you don't have  
18 today. If you're talking about leading in the area of  
19 safety, you're not doing it today. If the NCAA is talking  
20 about taking the lead in sexual assault, then they are not  
21 doing it today. If you're talking about gaps in insurance  
22 coverage, means it's not happening today. We can go on and  
23 on. Managing time and demands on these men and women that  
24 are in school, means it is not happening today.

25 And I'll share with you, every once in a while the

1 Chairman and I agree on something. I call that lightening  
2 in a bottle.

3 The Chairman: Careful.

4 Senator Heller: Maybe the stars are aligning. I'm  
5 not sure on this one. But, needless to say, I agree with  
6 him. And that is that we do have jurisdiction here, in  
7 this Congress, over the NCAA.

8 And so, my question to you is this: If tomorrow there  
9 was a bill in front of the United States Senate that would  
10 disband the NCAA, and for all their discussions in hearings  
11 and witnesses that spoke today, give me reasons why I  
12 shouldn't vote for that bill.

13 Dr. Emmert: Well, I am happy to.

14 The fact is that, first of all, we've been focused  
15 already in this brief period of time on the things that  
16 aren't happening. But the reality also is is that an  
17 enormous amount of very, very good things are happening --

18 Senator Heller: Good. I want hear those. I want to  
19 hear those.

20 Dr. Emmert: -- that we have talked about. So when we  
21 focus on the issues of college sports, the vast majority of  
22 them, as many of you have noted, the vast majority of those  
23 issues are really focused on men's basketball and football  
24 as it's played in the top handful of institutions. If you  
25 look at BCS football and men's basketball, you are looking

1 at less than 5 percent of all of intercollegiate athletics.  
2 You're missing 95 percent of intercollegiate athletics.  
3 For that other 95 percent, there are very few of those  
4 challenges or problems that are occurring. Indeed, it is  
5 serving.

6 So, I'm not very good at math in my hand, but if it's  
7 95 percent of 460,000 students, let's just say it's 450,000  
8 students or 425,000 students for whom this is working  
9 amazingly well. They are graduating at a higher rate than  
10 the rest of the student body on their campuses, they're  
11 graduating at a higher rate than the rest of the students  
12 in the United States. Yes, we can in fact have a very good  
13 learning discussion about how we measure graduation rates.  
14 But if you use the federal graduation rate, student-  
15 athletes in Division I graduated 1 percent higher than non-  
16 athletes on all of our campuses across America.

17 If you look at men's and women's basketball, if you  
18 look at football, the graduation rates, as Mr. Bradshaw  
19 pointed out, have been steadily growing for more than 15  
20 years now; each and every year. If you look at African-  
21 American men the African-American men on any given campus,  
22 have a 9 percent higher probability of graduating if they  
23 happen to be an athlete than if they're not an athlete.

24 The fact is its student-athletes make very good  
25 students. Yes, there are many issues, and our two former



1 athletes here, I think, have pointed them out very nicely  
2 that need to be addressed. But, for the vast majority of  
3 students, being an athlete also goes along with being a  
4 better student and more likely to graduate. And also, we  
5 believe, though the data is not well done, and I just  
6 learned from Dr. Southall that he's working on a study that  
7 I think will be very useful, we believe that there's good  
8 reason to see that they are more successful in life as  
9 well, overall.

10 So one of the things that we all need to work on  
11 together is to make sure that we don't throw the baby out  
12 with the bathwater here. Intercollegiate athletics, as you  
13 pointed out, Mr. Rockefeller, is a wonderful part of our  
14 society and provides extraordinary opportunities for the  
15 vast majority of student-athletes. I focused my comments  
16 on the things that I'd like to see fixed. You just  
17 elaborated on them. That should not be interpreted as  
18 everything is wrong in college sports. Indeed, even if you  
19 look at scholarships, in fact, no one is giving a  
20 guaranteed four, no one. Most schools are not giving  
21 guaranteed four-year commitments. USC has just committed  
22 to do that. University of Indiana has just committed to do  
23 that. A handful of others are looking at it right now --

24 Senator Heller: But wasn't that --

25 Dr. Emmert: -- but the reality is is that almost no

1 student ever losses their scholarship.

2 Senator Heller: But wasn't that prohibited by the  
3 NCAA?

4 Dr. Emmert: It was.

5 Senator Heller: When did that change?

6 Dr. Emmert: That's one of the things that I think  
7 will occur in the coming months.

8 Senator Heller: In other words, schools did offer  
9 four-year scholarships until the NCAA prohibited it.

10 Dr. Emmert: They did and I have no idea why that was  
11 put into the rules. I have my own notions, but I have no  
12 idea -- I don't even know when that occurred but a number  
13 of years ago.

14 Bill, do you know when that occurred?

15 Mr. Southall: 1974.

16 Dr. Emmert: 1974

17 Mr. Bradshaw: 1973.

18 Dr. Emmert: '73.

19 Senator Heller: And no reason as to why?

20 Dr. Emmert: Bill, do you know why?

21 Mr. Bradshaw: I really don't know, really don't know.

22 Dr. Emmert: None of us was in the room.

23 Mr. Bradshaw: In recruiting, it's not a very good  
24 idea not to give multi-year scholarships.

25 Senator Booker: I trust the historian. I'd love to

1     hear what Taylor Branch --

2             Senator Heller: I would. I'd like to hear this, yes.

3             Mr. Branch: The historical record on that was that it  
4     was driven by the coaches at the biggest universities,  
5     precisely the 65 biggest schools, because they wanted more  
6     control over their athletes; they're driven to win. You  
7     have a better chance of winning if you control the athlete  
8     and what time he gets up and how much time he spends in the  
9     weight room, and so on and so forth. And if you can yank  
10    their scholarship, then you got more control over them.

11            Senator Coats: But you can't do that anymore; right?

12            Senator McCaskill: Yes, you can.

13            Mr. Branch: Yes, you can.

14            Senator Coats: You can't control the time --

15            Mr. Branch: The NCAA, in 1973, at the behest of the  
16    big school athletic departments and coaches put in a rule  
17    that you could not offer more than a one-year scholarship.  
18    In other words, guaranteeing the coaches that control over  
19    the athletes. And that survived for 40 years. Now, what  
20    they're trying to do is to repeal that law so that you  
21    could, at your option, offer more.

22            Dr. Emmert: Excuse me, for interrupting. It has, in  
23    fact, been repealed. It's one of the first things that I  
24    insisted on.

25            Mr. Branch: But it lasted for 40 years at the behest

1 of the same 65 schools that are now proposing to do these  
2 reforms that you're talking about. And I think they're  
3 good, but it's because they can afford them and because the  
4 gap between the level of money involved and the needs of  
5 these athletes has gone so obscene that they want to do it  
6 on their own and they can afford to do it.

7 Senator Booker: If Senator Heller would allow me  
8 because this is such an important point. It has not  
9 changed. A student-athlete, right now, who for the reasons  
10 of a coach at any time can revoke that scholarship so that  
11 that student is no longer able to stay at a university.

12 Dr. Emmert, that's true right now; right?

13 Dr. Emmert: It's a variable.

14 So, starting last year, schools -- two year ago.  
15 Pardon me. Schools were provided the option. In other  
16 words, this prohibition was repealed so that a school today  
17 can offer a multi-year scholarship and many do.

18 So, as I just mentioned, the University of Southern  
19 California and Indiana, for example, have recently  
20 announced that that is precisely what they are going to do  
21 is offer full four-year scholarships. Many schools in the  
22 BIG 10 have been doing so since this prohibition was  
23 lifted. I don't know the extent to which it --

24 Senator Booker: But it is not uniform?

25 Dr. Emmert: But it is most certainly not uniform --

1 Senator Booker: And it's not even the majority of  
2 schools.

3 Dr. Emmert: I believe that it's not --

4 The Chairman: Senator Booker --

5 Dr. Emmert: -- not close to the majority.

6 The Chairman: -- your turn will come.

7 [Laughter.]

8 Dr. Emmert: Would the NCAA ever order this --

9 Senator McCaskill: Do we need to remind him that he  
10 is junior on this committee?

11 [Laughter.]

12 Senator McCaskill: I think somehow he forgot about  
13 this thing.

14 The Chairman: And now we're calling on Senator  
15 McCaskill.

16 Senator McCaskill: Thank you.

17 I would like to offer into the record the roll call of  
18 the institutions who voted to reestablish the one-year  
19 rule. After it was voted in, in 2011, that you could have  
20 the option of giving a four-year scholarship, the very next  
21 meeting there was an attempt to overrule that decision.  
22 They needed a two-thirds vote to overrule the decision to  
23 go back to the one-year requirement. I think it would be  
24 very interesting for the members of this committee to look  
25 at the institutions that voted to go back to a one-year

1 requirement in 2012. They need 62 and a half percent.  
2 They got 62.12 to go back the one-year. And I think you'll  
3 be surprised. It's counterintuitive. Some of the  
4 institutions that voted to go back to the one-year, like  
5 Harvard voted to go back to one-year; Yale was strong, they  
6 abstained. We had institutions like Texas, all wanted to  
7 go back to one-year, but then there were smaller schools  
8 that wanted to go back to one year.

9 Senator Thune: What did Missouri do?

10 Senator McCaskill: One Missouri school did, but the  
11 University of Missouri did not. And I was willing to offer  
12 this into the record and I was nervous when I got this  
13 because I was afraid that my university might have voted to  
14 go back to one-year. But it's very telling that in 2012 --  
15 Now I guess my question to you, Dr. Emmert, is why wasn't  
16 this made public at the time? Because, I think most of  
17 these universities would be embarrassed if they were  
18 publically called out that they were unwilling to give a  
19 four-year scholarship to an athlete. So why did it take a  
20 request from Congress for this roll call for this to ever  
21 reach the light of day? And I would ask this list to made  
22 part of the public record?

23 The Chairman: So ordered.

24 [The information referred to follows:]

25 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

1 Dr. Emmert: Well, the data were made available to all  
2 of the memberships. So --

3 Senator McCaskill: I'm talking about to the public.  
4 Why didn't you put it on your website?

5 Dr. Emmert: I'm not debating the fact. I just don't  
6 simply know whether it was not put on the website. The  
7 debate was very public. It was, obviously, a very disputed  
8 case. It's a very interesting debate. I was quite stunned  
9 by some of the argumentation.

10 So we have the -- and one of the things I didn't  
11 mention about changes that I anticipate in the coming  
12 weeks. Mr. Branch pointed out something that's part of the  
13 Olympic movement, Olympic tradition now that, in the United  
14 States, that student-athletes have to have a very -- not  
15 student-athletes. Olympic athletes have to have a  
16 substantial vote and voice in all of the deliberations of  
17 the Olympic bodies. I certainly advocate for a model much  
18 like that and, indeed, the proposal that's going to be  
19 voted on later, in August, will include a full  
20 representation of students as voting members alongside the  
21 presidents and athletic directors on all of the legislative  
22 bodies.

23 But, we currently have student-athlete advisory  
24 committees that we turn to all of these issues --

25 Senator McCaskill: Dr. Emmert, that's all great.

1 Dr. Emmert: No, but if I might, ma'am. The student-  
2 athlete advisory committee advised against putting in  
3 multi-year scholarships because they happened to agree with  
4 coaches that it was a good incentive for their colleagues  
5 to remain engaged. So some universities voted to overturn  
6 this because they're very own student-athlete advisory  
7 committee said, "No, no, no, no, don't give multi-year  
8 scholarships. We like one-year scholarships."

9 My point is simply, ma'am, it was quite  
10 counterintuitive in many levels. And I was quite appalled  
11 by --

12 Senator McCaskill: Okay. Fair enough.

13 I would like to talk to those students because I think  
14 they probably felt pressure from coaches if they were all  
15 student-athletes. I have a hard time imagining that any  
16 student thinks it's in their best interest to get a one-  
17 year scholarship rather than a four-year scholarship.

18 I'd like to get to handling rape accusations.

19 Dr. Emmert: Yes, ma'am.

20 Senator McCaskill: In one of the responses to one of  
21 the letters I sent you, you indicated that you provide an  
22 online Title IX legal and best practices material and video  
23 classes.

24 My question is: In that material, do you make the  
25 recommendation to your institutions that they not be



1 allowed to handle the adjudication of Title IX complaints  
2 involving sexual assault against student-athletes?

3 Dr. Emmert: I don't know the answer to that.

4 Senator McCaskill: Well, we've done a survey and the  
5 results came out today. And I was shocked to find out 30  
6 percent of the Division I, II, and III schools allow their  
7 athletic departments to handle the allegations against  
8 their athletes. Now, we have a big problem with victims  
9 being willing to come forward.

10 And I assume you've read the long cover story about  
11 the investigation that did not occur with Mr. Winston at  
12 Florida State?

13 Dr. Emmert: I have.

14 Senator McCaskill: That there was no investigation of  
15 that allegation. We will never know whether he was guilty  
16 or not because nobody ever investigated it because of who  
17 he was.

18 If you're a victim and you know your allegation is  
19 going to be handled by the athletic department as opposed  
20 to any other student on campus who is handled in a  
21 different system, why in the world would you think the  
22 process was going to be fair?

23 Dr. Emmert: I read your data this morning and I was  
24 both, it sounds like, equally surprised and dismayed by  
25 that fact.

1           I think the concern you're raising is spot on. I  
2    think it creates, first of all, an enormous amount of  
3    conflicts of interest. I think it creates the kind of  
4    enormous apprehension you're describing right now on the  
5    part of a victim. As somebody who has spent most of his  
6    life on campus and, in several jobs, had responsibilities  
7    for campus safety. Whenever I was a president, I had to  
8    deal with victims and family members of victims and people  
9    who had suffered egregious harm. And I always found it the  
10   most difficult problem that I'd ever wrestle with. I think  
11   this is something that needs to be addressed. I think your  
12   data is shining a very important light on a phenomenon that  
13   I think most of the members are going to be very surprised  
14   to know exist.

15           Senator McCaskill: Well, I think that, my sense, and  
16   I have a lot of questions about transparency of money and  
17   about whether or not things are made public. I feel for  
18   you, because part of me thinks you're captured by those  
19   that you're supposed to regulate but then you're supposed  
20   to regulate those that you're captured by. And I can't  
21   tell whether you're in charge or whether you're a minion to  
22   them.

23           The notion that you can't forcefully state "I will go  
24   after this and I will make sure that no university allows  
25   their athletic department to handle a sexual allegation

1     against one of their team members," you know, I don't sense  
2     that you feel like you have any control over this  
3     situation. And if you have no control, if you're literally  
4     a monetary pass-through, why should you even exist?

5             Dr. Emmert: Well, I think the reality is is that  
6     while the issue we're talking about here, I don't have a  
7     vote on and I don't get to set those policies. I can  
8     certainly set the tone on it and I can certainly be someone  
9     who voices a very loud opinion and says, "This is not  
10    right. This is inappropriate. These are the conflicts  
11    that exist when you have a policy and a practice like this  
12    on your campus."

13            When I first took this job, the very first summit I  
14    held in Indianapolis was a summit on sexual violence. It  
15    was a summit that led to the creation of a working group of  
16    experts and not college athletic folks but of experts from  
17    across the country to create a working group and a think  
18    tank. We're going to issuing the results of their work  
19    this summer as a workbook and a guide to best practices.

20            I'm now, thanks to your work, going to in and make  
21    sure that this issue is addressed in that handbook. And  
22    I'm going to talk to the leadership at our very next  
23    meeting in August, about the fact that this is really  
24    inappropriate and we need to find ways to make sure that  
25    athletic departments are not the ones who are responsible

1 for adjudication of these issues because of all the obvious  
2 concerns that you raise.

3 Senator McCaskill: Thank you.

4 Dr. Emmert: I couldn't agree more.

5 Senator McCaskill: Thank you. I'm over my time and  
6 I'll try to come back. I hope somebody else covers the  
7 questions about young people from families that can't  
8 afford to even travel to see their children play in the  
9 games.

10 Dr. Emmert: Yes.

11 Senator McCaskill: Because, meanwhile, the  
12 universities are making gazillion dollars off their  
13 children but their parents can't even get a stipend to  
14 attend the game to watch their child play. There's  
15 something wrong with that scenario. And it's going on  
16 college campus across this country every single week.

17 Dr. Emmert: I agree with you.

18 The Chairman: Thank you.

19 Senator Klobuchar.

20 Senator Klobuchar: I thank you very much, Mr.  
21 Chairman.

22 And I just want to start with one of my favorite  
23 stories of the year; was the coach, the coach, is the coach  
24 for the University of Minnesota football team, Coach Kill,  
25 who has epilepsy. And, as you know, Dr. Emmert, he had a

1 number of seizures during games, during stressful moments  
2 in games. And the University of Minnesota president  
3 decided we're not going to get rid of him, we're keeping  
4 him on. Our record has been a little rocky, the Gophers.  
5 But they kept Coach Kill on. He had to coach from a box.  
6 He couldn't coach on the field because of his condition.  
7 And during the entire season, he coached from a box. And I  
8 was there when we beat Nebraska with him in a box. It was  
9 a great moment.

10 And it was a great story, but it does make me think,  
11 as I hear all of this, that that kind of compassion, what  
12 was so captivating about that story, was that it kind of  
13 defied what had become of so many of these big sports games  
14 and the kind of cut throat competition and how people were  
15 treated.

16 And so, I think what you're hearing up here today is  
17 the hope that these are deliverables. These are things  
18 that can happen. When you talk about changing the sexual  
19 assault policy, making sure the players have the healthcare  
20 insurance, making sure that they have the time to do these  
21 internships; these aren't like crazy hard things to do. I  
22 think they're possible things to do.

23 And so, what I more want anything, as I listen to all  
24 this, is that we commit. And I know the Chairman will be  
25 retired, but he will be here, I'm sure, for this. That we

1 have another hearing whether it's six months from now or a  
2 year from now to check up on what's happening with these  
3 things. Because, these are things that we don't have to  
4 pass a law to change, when I listen to some of these  
5 commitments and the possibilities.

6 And I wanted to go with one of the things, and that is  
7 that we haven't talked about as much. And that is the  
8 issue of the concussions. We've had several players,  
9 whether they are at the high school level or at the college  
10 level. And I know Senator Tom Udall, I've cosponsored his  
11 bill and we've had hearings on this specific topic already.  
12 But I understand that there is some work being done here.  
13 I know there's a lawsuit that's going on but I wondered if  
14 you could comment, Dr. Emmert, and then I'll ask you, Mr.  
15 Rolle, with your medical focus here; just your opinion of  
16 it. But if you could talk about what's being done with  
17 this issue because I think it's a very important issue for  
18 all levels of sports.

19 Dr. Emmert: I think it's a critical issue and it's  
20 most heavily identified with football, of course, but it's  
21 also the leading cause of concussions for young women in  
22 soccer, for example. And it occurs in virtually every  
23 sport.

24 There's a number of things going on. I'll be as quick  
25 as I can. First of all, as I mentioned in my opening

1     comments, when I first came into the office, I was a bit  
2     surprised to find there wasn't a chief medical officer  
3     position in the NCAA. So I created that job and we went  
4     out and we hired a wonderful doctor, Brian Hainline, who is  
5     a neurologist. He has been working unbelievably hard to  
6     pull together, first of all, a best science.

7             One of the big problems is we don't have good science  
8     on concussions. It is not as well understood as we all  
9     might think. And so, once they've done that, just this  
10    past handful of days, they released the first ever  
11    consensus among all the medical community on the treatment  
12    and the prevention of concussions, especially around  
13    football and new football practice guidelines around  
14    contact and a variety of other things. We signed with the  
15    Department of Defense, about two months ago, an agreement  
16    to do a \$30 million project. We're putting up \$15 million,  
17    DoD is putting up \$15 million to track longitudinally,  
18    first of its kind ever track longitudinally, young men and  
19    women and try and get a legitimate history of the  
20    occurrence of and a treatment of concussions so that we  
21    understand it better. We're working with all of the youth  
22    sports organizations to try and get better practice  
23    guidelines, working with the NFL on their Heads UP program  
24    to try and get coaches, especially in football, coaches  
25    trying to teach young men and boys how to tackle properly.

1           But we have the same issue with soccer. So there's  
2   some soccer coaches, girls' soccer coaches, that are saying  
3   now we need to ban any heading until girls and boys are at  
4   least 12 years of age. And so, we're looking at trying to  
5   lend our support to those kind of efforts. We're making,  
6   pardon the pun, headway but the facts are we need a lot  
7   better understanding of this disorder and how we can  
8   prevent it. I'm pleased with where we are and I'm proud.

9           Senator McCaskill: Mr. Rolle?

10          Mr. Rolle: Well, part of the reason, actually, why I  
11   stopped playing in the NFL to pursue medicine and go into a  
12   particular specialty of neurosurgery was because a lot of  
13   my teammates having early onset dementia or traumatic brain  
14   injury or some of these chronic traumatic encephalopathies,  
15   things that you often associate with several concussive  
16   episodes. I saw it in the NFL, I saw it in college. And  
17   now, as an inspiring neurosurgeon, I would love to add  
18   expertise to that discussion.

19          But I think at the collegiate level, one thing that I  
20   noticed in the locker rooms were a lot of my teammates, a  
21   lot of fellow athletes of mine, you know, we want to be  
22   fast; right? We want to be quick. We want to be nimble.  
23   We want to be agile. And so, the protective equipment that  
24   we wear, a lot of the guys were choose and select equipment  
25   that's lighter and maybe not as protective. And so, that



1 might lead to more concussive episodes.

2 I think education, as Dr. Emmert said, is incredible  
3 important. We do have some athletic trainers and doctors  
4 that come and speak to us as collegiate athletes and talk  
5 to us about the dangers of concussion, but if you are  
6 concussed as a player, sometimes you feel pressured and  
7 forced to get back on the field as quickly as possible.  
8 And then, if you have a risk of getting a second  
9 concussion, you're likelihood of getting a third and a  
10 fourth, a fifth, goes up exponentially actually.

11 And so, the pressures and stresses of trying to be on  
12 the field, trying to compete, not losing your position all  
13 at the same time, as Devon said earlier, if you're not on  
14 the field and if the coaches can't see you, you're not  
15 exposed, then you perhaps lose your opportunity of getting  
16 drafted high and getting to your next level. And so,  
17 there's a lot of different issues that go on.

18 I think one way to address this issue along with  
19 education is just to, perhaps, change the culture, change  
20 the focus, of big collision, high velocity hits in the  
21 sport of football, and the idea that that is a part of the  
22 game. It is not a part of the game, actually. If you look  
23 at the rulebook, it's just to take a player to the ground,  
24 similar to how a rugby is performed, but you see all the  
25 highlights and all the exposure on these big, high velocity

1 hits where guys are spearing into another player and that's  
2 what gets highlighted, that's what gets celebrated. And I  
3 think that's a wrong path.

4 And so, as I said, hopefully in a few years or so, I  
5 can add more knowledge to this discussion. But, from my  
6 anecdotal knowledge, it is an issue that's not only in the  
7 NFL but also in college and even before that; high school  
8 and primary football, as well.

9 Senator McCaskill: Okay. Well, thank you.

10 And I'll ask the questions on the record about the  
11 internships of you, Mr. Ramsay, because I just thought that  
12 was really fascinating when you look at the numbers that  
13 Dr. Emmert gave us on what a small proportion of the  
14 student-athletes end up going into pro-sports. That's most  
15 likely not going to be their career. And they have to have  
16 that ability to pursue. And if it's supposed to be 20  
17 hours than we have to find some way to measure that and  
18 enforce it so that it's across-the-board. And that's one  
19 of the things I'm very interested in hearing the follow-up  
20 in a year. And I thank you for bringing that to our  
21 attention.

22 Thank you.

23 And it also says to go down, as we discussed, Dr.  
24 Emmert, yesterday, to the high school level and so that we  
25 put some of this in perspective. And I do think there's

1 ways to change cultures. We've changed cultures in this  
2 country before and still have great sports games.

3 Thank you.

4 The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Klobuchar.

5 Senator Nelson, I want to say something about you.

6 To me, this hearing so far has been a lot of talk  
7 about a lot of things which have been around for an awfully  
8 long time, which we all think should be solved. But  
9 they're not solved, and I think there are very clear  
10 reasons for it and that decision making reason is very  
11 flawed, fragile and useless.

12 Florida, which has -- everybody recruits from Florida.  
13 They have a law which you would know, Senator Blumenthal,  
14 that transparency, how money is spent, has to be made  
15 public because they have a law. And so, you know, when the  
16 contributions and the NCAA comes in and only a small  
17 portion goes to education and all kinds of things go to the  
18 stadium, that's all available to the public.

19 And so, I commend them for coming from a state like  
20 that. And I just think that's the path for so many answers  
21 which we just otherwise seem to be unwilling to deal with.  
22 Excuse me.

23 Senator Nelson: Well, thank you Mr. Chairman.

24 I think a lot has come out of this committee hearing  
25 that should enable and help Dr. Emmert to continue with the

1 reforms that he's trying. Now, so much has been said about  
2 so many of these issues. Let me just highlight a couple.

3 I happen to know because I was mesmerized with Mr.  
4 Rolle as a player at Florida State. And for him to do his  
5 interview for the Rhodes Scholarship, which was in the  
6 South on a Saturday, his president, T.K. Wetherell, had to  
7 get special dispensation so that they could get someone to  
8 donate a private jet for him that could fly him somewhere  
9 in the Northeast when Florida State was playing up here.  
10 And, even so, he made it only in the second half. But, the  
11 emphasis, you know, that's something that's so common sense  
12 that you would want a player to interview for the Rhodes,  
13 and yet it was a big deal. And it shouldn't have been.

14 The fact of so many of these players are coming from  
15 families that are dirt poor, and they don't have the  
16 opportunities that others do. It seems to me it's common  
17 sense. We ought to have stipends or scholarship, whatever  
18 you want to call it, so it equalizes the playing field of  
19 the financial ability if those student-athletes are  
20 contributing to the financial well-being of that  
21 university.

22 So, too, with health insurance. That ought to be  
23 common sense. If a player is hurt and that's a career-  
24 ending injury, the best of medical care ought to be given  
25 to that player. And for it to last for some period of time

1 in the future. And, of course, concussions just to add  
2 another whole dimension to this thing. I thought it was  
3 very interesting, in another committee that I have the  
4 privilege of chairing, we did a hearing on concussions  
5 including professional athletes, went down the line on the  
6 table and they would not recommend to their children that  
7 they play football.

8 So times are changing. And the NCAA has got to get  
9 with the times and so, whatever this committee hearing has  
10 done to enable you, as a reformer, to get those schools to  
11 give you the votes that you need to do a lot of these  
12 things that we're talking about; the family travel. Why  
13 should they have to sneak around in the shadows in order to  
14 get money to be able to buy a ticket to come to the game  
15 and where to stay in a hotel and so forth? I mean, it just  
16 defies common sense.

17 Mr. Rolle, do you want to make any final comment?

18 Mr. Rolle: Sure.

19 One thing that I'd like to say is that when you think  
20 about the four-year scholarship discussion and the one-year  
21 renewable, a lot of players that I was on teams with, it  
22 kind of felt like it was us verse them. You know, it  
23 wasn't a team. We didn't kind of feel like the NCAA was  
24 protecting our best interests; was looking out for us.  
25 Wanting, to see us succeed and thrive and flourish was

1 almost as if we had to do everything we could to promote  
2 ourself and to better ourself against this big machine that  
3 was dictating and ordering the steps that we took. And  
4 maybe that's not true. Maybe there's some  
5 miscommunication. Maybe the information was getting  
6 disseminated to the student-athletes on the field well  
7 enough. But that's kind of how we felt.

8 And I think another thing is quite bothersome today,  
9 going back to the economic issue and economic struggles, a  
10 lot of my teammates, as you know Senator Nelson, I mean,  
11 come from poor areas in Florida and they come to Florida  
12 State as the first person in their family to be a college  
13 student. And they don't have a lot of money to lean back  
14 on from their families. So that leaves them open and  
15 susceptible to some unsavory things.

16 I mean, these are agents, NFL runners, who would come  
17 to our dorms and knock on our doors and say, "Hey, I can  
18 take you out to a night club; I can buy you a meal; I can  
19 give you a suit to wear; I can take you and your girlfriend  
20 out to eat." And then, these players accept it because  
21 they don't have much else and then they become ineligible.  
22 Then they don't have any opportunity for financial gain in  
23 the future by going to the NFL because now, they have a  
24 black mark or they just don't play anymore. So then, they  
25 end up back in Liberty City, Miami or Polk County, Florida,

1     and that typical perpetuity continues. And it's  
2     frustrating and discouraging and I saw it often.

3             Senator Nelson: That is the exact example that we  
4     need to use.

5             Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6             The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Nelson.

7             Isn't it not Senator Cory Booker in attendance today?  
8     It's his turn to ask a question.

9             [Laughter.]

10            The Chairman: Finally. I apologize.

11            Senator Booker: No, sir. I --

12            The Chairman: Look, you could have run for the Senate  
13     ten years ago.

14            [Laughter.]

15            Senator Booker: I don't want to be disrespectful to  
16     Senator Blumenthal who I think was here before me, earlier.

17            Would you like to -- no?

18            Senator Blumenthal: I will ask my questions now only  
19     because I have to preside, and if you would yield for five  
20     minutes, I would really appreciate it.

21            Senator Booker: I've already been put in my place  
22     once. You're more senior than me. I will yield, sir.

23            Senator Blumenthal: Yes, but you're bigger than I am.  
24     So --

25            [Laughter.]

1           Senator Blumenthal: Let me thank you, Mr. Chairman,  
2   for having this hearing, which very sincerely is, I think,  
3   a very important one, very significant, for the future of  
4   academic institutions. I want to thank all of the folks  
5   who have come to enlighten us and thank you to Senator  
6   Nelson, by the way, for having that hearing on concussions  
7   which was very enlightening.

8           And I want to begin by saying, for what it's worth, I  
9   think the law here is heading in a very unfortunate  
10   direction, as Dr. Emmert and I have discussed. I think the  
11   law is heading in the direction of regarding athletes at  
12   universities more and more as employees. And that is  
13   because of the growing asymmetry and inequality of  
14   bargaining positions, financial benefit, energy, time,  
15   sweat, blood, injury that is involved. That is classically  
16   the reason why labor law protections have applied to  
17   individuals who potentially are victims of exploitations,  
18   whether it's in garment factories or construction sites or  
19   universities.

20          And so, I think the challenge here is to diminish that  
21   asymmetry to reduce the inequality and to return truly to  
22   the model of student-athletes, which I think many of us  
23   want to be the prevailing model but increasingly is not so,  
24   and therefore the laws will move to protect them as the NRB  
25   ruling reflects. And I say that with regret because I,



1 too, as Dr. Emmert has articulated well, valued that  
2 student-athlete model rather than the employee/employer  
3 model. But the more the reality is that athletes in effect  
4 function as employees, the more the law will recognize that  
5 fact. And my opinion is worth what you're paying for it,  
6 I'm just a country lawyer from Connecticut. But I  
7 sincerely believe that that's the direction of the law.

8 I want to first ask you, Dr. Emmert, I was absolutely  
9 astonished and deeply troubled by the revelation that  
10 athletic departments, on many campuses, investigate campus  
11 sexual assaults. I'd like your commitment that you will  
12 work to change that practice as soon as possible and as  
13 effectively as possible.

14 Dr. Emmert: You have my commitment.

15 I obviously want to understand the data more. I  
16 simply read a summary. I'm not sure what the facts are on  
17 those campuses but, as I said earlier, the data that  
18 Senator McCaskill's staff brought forward was shocking to  
19 me.

20 Senator Blumenthal: Well, I am shocked and outrage by  
21 the apparent practice on many campuses of, in effect, re-  
22 victimizing survivors who may be, in effect, victims.

23 I want to focus for the moment on health insurance.  
24 You know, individual colleges and the NCAA make billions of  
25 dollars on the talents of these young men and women. And I

1     want ask you: Couldn't the NCAA offer health insurance for  
2     athletes for a certain amount of time after they leave  
3     college? That seems eminently fair and in effect making  
4     them better athletes and better students while they're  
5     there.

6             So I would ask for your commitment that you will work  
7     towards providing for health insurance for these needs and  
8     injuries that may extend beyond their playing years on  
9     campus or even in professional settings. And I'd like to  
10    know what more, assuming you are committed to that cause,  
11    what more your organization can do to encourage schools to  
12    provide this kind of coverage for its student-athletes?

13            Dr. Emmert: Yes, sir.

14            Well, today, the coverage that exists right now is  
15    provided either by the campus itself or by the student  
16    athlete's family. Depending upon university policies that  
17    at most of the high resource schools, they provide the  
18    insurance so that the student doesn't have to. We need to  
19    do several things.

20            One, we need to make sure, in my opinion, we need to  
21    make sure that there aren't co-payment requirements. If a  
22    young man or woman, especially from a low income family,  
23    has an injury and all of a sudden they have a \$2,000,  
24    \$5,000 co-payment that seems grossly inappropriate since it  
25    was a sports-related injury. Why should they be on the

1 hook for that? So we need to make sure that we don't have  
2 many of those circumstances out there.

3 We have right now, at the NCAA level, catastrophic  
4 insurance so that if there is long-term disability issues,  
5 if there are injuries that require treatment over a course  
6 of a lifetime, there is a policy in place. We have some  
7 individuals that have been on that insurance policy for 20  
8 or more years, and we've taken a number of steps to make  
9 sure that that is as strong as it could possibly be. That  
10 policy, though, doesn't kick in until you have \$90,000  
11 worth of bills. We need to make sure that, to your point -  
12 - I'm saying yes, I guess, Senator. You have my  
13 commitment.

14 Senator Blumenthal: I'm glad to hear the yes.

15 Dr. Emmert: There are complexities in all this we  
16 need to work our way through. But I agree with you that --

17 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

18 Dr. Emmert: -- no one should have to pay for an  
19 injury that they suffered as a student-athlete.

20 Senator Blumenthal: I welcome and accept your yes to  
21 both the sexual assault and the insurance questions. And I  
22 would ask further for your commitment that you work with us  
23 on sensible legislation that will impose a higher level of  
24 responsibility in both areas.

25 Thank you.

1 Dr. Emmert: Certainly.

2 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 The Chairman: Go ahead.

4 Senator Booker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 First of all, I'm grateful. You know, you and I  
6 talked about this in my first days as United States  
7 Senator; that this was an issue that you wanted to cover  
8 and you saw my excitement for doing that. And a lot of  
9 that excitement stemmed from the fact that I was, back in  
10 the '90s, an NCAA Division I football player.

11 And I want to first say, it's very important for me to  
12 say, that I probably wouldn't be here right now if it  
13 wasn't for that experience. And I am deeply grateful. I  
14 joke all the time that I got into Stanford University  
15 because of a 4.0 and 1600; 4.0 yards per carry, 1600  
16 receiving yards in my high school years, and had lifetime  
17 experiences frankly that I could never, ever replace. And  
18 it opened up extraordinary doors for me.

19 And so, we could have a hearing that could go on for  
20 hours if not days about all the good things that are  
21 happening with the NCAA and athletes. And so, please  
22 forgive me if I'm not giving that appropriate light.

23 But what concerns me and what you and I have talked  
24 about, chairperson, for quite some time are the egregious  
25 challenges we have.

1           Now, I want to just publically thank Dr. Emmert,  
2     because he was gracious not only to come here, which he did  
3     not have to do, but he actually took special time to come  
4     see me as a former NCAA athlete to sit down with me and  
5     hear my concerns. And I was taken aback actually that you  
6     agreed with me across-the-board. And let me just reiterate  
7     those, for the record, and just make sure that we are in  
8     agreement.

9           So, number one, you agreed it's a big problem that  
10    athletes don't get scholarships to get a B.A.?

11          Dr. Emmert: Yes.

12          Senator Booker: That is a big problem; that we have  
13    athletes that pour their lives 40, 50 hours a week and then  
14    end up having gone through their eligibility but don't have  
15    a B.A. That's a problem?

16          Dr. Emmert: Yes.

17          Senator Booker: You agree it's a problem that we have  
18    athletes, often very poor, coming onto college campuses  
19    restricted from working? They can't shovel driveways for  
20    some extra spending money, can't meet the needs of travel,  
21    can't buy toiletries, clothing. If they're restricted from  
22    working, banned from working, you know that that's a  
23    problem we have to address?

24          Dr. Emmert: But a minor correction. They're not  
25    banned from working. They can, in fact, work and in many

1 cases do. But the biggest challenge is they simply haven't  
2 the time.

3 Senator Booker: So, in other words, they can't work  
4 because of whatever reason. You know that's a problem;  
5 that the scholarship does not cover the full costs --

6 Dr. Emmert: Yes.

7 Senator Booker: -- at the same time they're being  
8 expected, whether by law or not, to work 40, 50, 60 hours a  
9 week?

10 Dr. Emmert: Completely agree.

11 Senator Booker: That's a problem; right.

12 You agree that a problem that the health coverage is  
13 inadequate and that we have people, many of whom I know and  
14 you know, who have blown-out knees and, even though they've  
15 graduated now, they're having to go in the pocket for co-  
16 pays and the like to deal with medical injuries that were  
17 incurred, really, the root of them was the challenges they  
18 had when they were an athlete?

19 Dr. Emmert: Yes, I agree that the insurance today is  
20 much better than most people think, but there's certainly  
21 areas that need to be closed --

22 Senator Booker: It's inadequate and it is costing  
23 some athletes thousands of dollars into their lifetimes.

24 Dr. Emmert: Yes.

25 Senator Booker: You agree that there's a real

1 problem, still, with time? That, as the two athletes at  
2 the end of the table, I know they're not much different  
3 than me, but it's not just the practice time.

4 Guys, how many hours would you show up before practice  
5 and get your ankles taped, get treatments? An hour, two  
6 hours?

7 Mr. Rolle: Yes, sir.

8 Senator Booker: Sometimes three hours depending on  
9 how bad your injury, your strain is? We have athletes now  
10 putting in upwards of 60, 70 hours a week. That's a  
11 problem.

12 Dr. Emmert: Huge problem.

13 Senator Booker: Okay.

14 And you agree that there is, at least, an issue that  
15 has to be dealt with to improve with the issue of sexual  
16 assault; that has to be improved in terms of the way we  
17 investigate?

18 Dr. Emmert: Yes.

19 I think the way we educate young men and young women,  
20 and the way we educate people on campuses to handle the  
21 issues.

22 Senator Booker: Right.

23 And this, we didn't cover so it might not be a simple  
24 yes or no but, in terms of the due process, when a young  
25 man like Mr. Ramsay not even knowing he could get a lawyer,

1 not even getting help, that there are breakdowns in process  
2 that are not clear. Would you say that that process could  
3 be improved?

4 Dr. Emmert: It certainly could, especially on most  
5 campuses. Yes.

6 Senator Booker: So I guess I just to you, Mr.  
7 Chairman, not having the time to go through more rounds and  
8 deeper questioning, to just say, clearly, this is my  
9 problem. This was a challenge for when I was an athlete,  
10 some 20 years ago. And athletes after athletes are going  
11 through and facing what I consider the exploitation of  
12 athletes.

13 Let me be very clear. It is exploitation when you  
14 have an athlete working 60, 70 hours a week, but yet still  
15 not able to afford the basic necessities, not just having  
16 your parents fly back and forth but being put in horrible  
17 situations where they see their jersey with their name on  
18 it being sold making thousands and thousands of dollars,  
19 but they can't even afford to get the basic necessities of  
20 life. And if they try to sell their jersey for \$50, they  
21 then get penalized and lose their -- that's exploitation of  
22 an athlete.

23 To me, it's exploitation when you give your body --  
24 gentlemen on the end, how many linemen today that played  
25 with you that have gone through four, five and six



1 surgeries for their knees?

2 Mr. Rolle: Many.

3 Senator Booker: A lot.

4 Mr. Ramsay: Yes.

5 Mr. Ramsay: Me.

6 Senator Booker: And if they're going into their own  
7 pocket, after giving up their knees to make millions of  
8 dollars for the university and then the universities aren't  
9 even compensating them appropriately, that's an  
10 exploitation of a college athlete. That has to be  
11 addressed.

12 If we have guys, like was testified by the two  
13 gentlemen on the end, who -- I know this because we spent  
14 hours. We did the math, my teams, because so many players  
15 feel an assault on your dignity; that you're putting 70, 80  
16 hours a week. You're giving up internships. You know more  
17 about your playbook. I can still tell you: Stonebreaker,  
18 Todd Lyght, Chris Zorich. I can tell you more about them  
19 because that's what I was studying at night -- that you  
20 spend all of that effort and then your university is not in  
21 any way insuring that you get a degree at the end in  
22 something like engineering or political science. But  
23 they're not honoring the fact that sometimes, hey, when  
24 you're working fulltime you can't finish your degree in  
25 four or five years. In fact, when they can lord over you,

1 the removal of your scholarship, because it does still  
2 happen. Athletes are still exploited, that they blow out  
3 their knee -- if they somehow don't meet the mandates of a  
4 coach, they lose their scholarship. They don't get their  
5 degree.

6 And so, to me this is plain and simple, the dark side  
7 of the NCAA where athletes are being exploited. And this  
8 is why I love that Taylor Branch is here. Because,  
9 occasionally, and you use these words, Dr. Emmert, you used  
10 "this may work as a cattle prod to get us moving." This  
11 hearing may be a cattle prod. I wrote that word down  
12 because I have seen the NCAA move quickly when there is  
13 money and reputation on the table.

14 For example, you mentioned his name, Shabazz Napier;  
15 says on the highest exultation of victory, he says on T.V.  
16 what we know athletes, what coaches know, is a truth. That  
17 some guys don't even have the money to buy shaving cream;  
18 to eat at night. But he says it on national T.V. and  
19 within seven days, because the shame and embarrassment --  
20 within seven days, if I'm correct, the rules changed and  
21 guys could actually eat.

22 Dr. Emmert: Yes, though I'd like to --

23 Senator Booker: So hold on, because I'm already over  
24 my time, sir.

25 Dr. Emmert: Okay.

1 [Laughter.]

2 Senator Booker: Let me give you another example. Cam  
3 Newton was going through the same problems you were at the  
4 same time. His eligibility was being challenged, Mr.  
5 Ramsay. Cam Newton, a guy that brings millions of dollars  
6 into a university and his adjudication happened quickly.  
7 Yours did not. You're not a name athlete. Your name isn't  
8 on jersey and the like, and so it didn't.

9 So what I want to say in conclusion, Mr. Chairperson,  
10 and really why I love that Taylor Branch is here because he  
11 wrote one of the more seminal books of my life about the  
12 Civil Rights movement, that when there's a class of  
13 individuals who are being exploited and there is millions  
14 and millions of dollars being brought in and guys can't  
15 even afford healthcare, can't afford to finish they  
16 degrees, than we have a problem. And I respect Dr. Emmert  
17 in saying: We are going to try and address that but where  
18 is the urgency that this has been going on decades in  
19 America? And so, I don't trust, like the Supreme Court  
20 when they said we're going to integrate schools. They said  
21 do it with what? All, what kind of speed?

22 Mr. Branch: Deliberate.

23 Senator Booker: All deliberate speed.

24 And it took them a long time to get around to doing  
25 the right thing by people.

1           Well these aren't just people, these are young people  
2     in the United States of America. And we can't afford to  
3     wait for all deliberate speed. There has got to be some  
4     level of accountability for fast action on things that the  
5     head of the NCAA says is a problem. That next season, when  
6     football season starts, there are going to be kids  
7     suffering from the same list of unfair things that somehow  
8     someday is going to be addressed. So I think we need  
9     another hearing with the real rule makers, with college  
10    presidents lined up here, and ask them how fast are they  
11    going to address the exploitation of college athletes?

12           Mr. Chairman, thank you.

13           Senator Coats: Well, Mr. Chairman, could Dr. Emmert  
14    respond to that?

15           The Chairman: No, I have a sacred obligation to  
16    Senator Ayotte. She is next.

17           Senator Ayotte: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I  
18    appreciate it.

19           Let me just say up front on this issue of athletic  
20    departments investigating sexual assault allegations. That  
21    is ridiculous. You've got to get up and fix that right  
22    away.

23           I am a proud graduate of the Penn State University,  
24    and it's obviously we're -- it was so troubling and  
25    disappointing to see what happened at my own university. I

1 love the university, but the athletic department is not  
2 where you handle these kinds of allegations, so you've got  
3 to fix that, Dr. Emmert. Walk out this door and fix that.

4 What I'm troubled about when I hear, you know, the  
5 testimony today, and I just need to understand. Senator  
6 Blumenthal asked about the change to an employer/employee  
7 model. We've talked about compensation potentially for  
8 athletes today. I don't want to see any athletes  
9 mistreated. I want them to be able to have a quality of  
10 life that's important as they serve and get the education  
11 and be able to an athlete; the student-athlete model.

12 But, as I think about what, for example, the NLRB did  
13 in its ruling, I know it applies to private universities  
14 allowing unionization at Northwestern, and I think about  
15 this compensation model, the employer/employee model, what  
16 does this do in terms of the schools where we're not  
17 talking about the top athletes that may go on, that are the  
18 revenue-generating sports? And what will that do to  
19 women's athletics?

20 If we start down the road of a compensation model,  
21 what will happen in our schools in terms of the schools or  
22 the sports that aren't at the top where those athletes --  
23 you can sell the jerseys, you can make money, but are still  
24 very important to student life. And when I think about  
25 Title IX and women and the opportunities women have gotten

1 because of Title IX, if you're on campus and this suddenly  
2 becomes an employer/employee-type model, what does that do  
3 for the women's sports if they're not revenue generating?  
4 And how do we sustain them if this model changes?

5 So it's a big question but I would like you all to  
6 comment on it because the last thing I want to see is for -  
7 - I want to make sure that our athletes are treated well.

8 And certainly, Mr. Rolle, what you've done, it's  
9 really inspiring to see what you've done.

10 And thank you, Mr. Ramsay, as well for your  
11 inspiration in being here. But there's a whole category of  
12 athletes that weren't quite at your level but are  
13 participating in college sports. And it's been an  
14 opportunity for them to get an education. And for women,  
15 as well, that are at your level but don't always -- our  
16 sports don't always generate the same amount of revenue.  
17 And I want to make sure that women still have the  
18 opportunity that they've had because of Title IX. So if  
19 you could comment on that, I'd appreciate it.

20 Dr. Southall: I would love to comment on that. I  
21 think it's not a zero sum game. If some athletes are  
22 profit-athletes who have a higher market value than the  
23 cost of their grant and aid, then we should treat them  
24 differently than athletes who are not profit athletes.  
25 It's not either/or or they must be. If they're employees,

1 as the NLRB found, then we should treat them as employees.  
2 That does not mean that college athletics or athletes in  
3 the other sports, women, or anything, it doesn't --

4 Senator Ayotte: Well, can I tell you --

5 Dr. Southall: It's not an either/or.

6 Senator Ayotte: Can I tell you, Doctor, my university  
7 said that if the unionization rule were applied, University  
8 of New Hampshire, that they feel like this is actually  
9 going to diminish the athletic program. It would diminish  
10 it for women, it will diminish it for non-revenue  
11 generating sports. So I understand what you're saying but  
12 that's sort of not what I'm hearing from some other  
13 universities.

14 Dr. Southall: Well, I would say that probably a  
15 university president, by the name of Chicken Little, might  
16 have been the first one to say that because the sky will  
17 not, in fact, fall.

18 By denying profit-athletes just compensation in the  
19 market, does not preclude colleges and universities from  
20 supporting intercollegiate athletics as an educational  
21 opportunity. If they're employees, then they should have  
22 all the rights of employees. Title IX does not apply in an  
23 employee setting.

24 Senator Ayotte: Well, I would like to see what Mr.  
25 Bradshaw has to say about what I just said as well. Thank

1     you.

2             Mr. Bradshaw: We probably don't have time, but I  
3     certainly like to hear that model that works. I believe  
4     it's going to be devastating to all those student-athletes  
5     including women who don't produce revenue; who aren't seen  
6     as athletes or students who create that revenue. I really  
7     would like to see that model work because, as we all know,  
8     that's going to mean those who can afford to pay for that  
9     will and those who can't won't.

10            Senator Ayotte: Thank you.

11            Dr. Southall: Again, if I can reiterate, and I  
12     appreciate the question. I'm trying to articulate as  
13     clearly as I can. If the athletes are, in fact, employees  
14     then we have a moral obligation and an obligation under the  
15     law to treat them as such. If they're not, does not  
16     preclude them from participating. Title IX does not have  
17     to be held hostage by this because we're only talking about  
18     5 percent of the athletes.

19            Senator Ayotte: So, I know my time is up and I know  
20     others have to ask questions but -- so we're just going to  
21     have a distinction. So some will be employees and some  
22     will be student-athletes?

23            Dr. Southall: They already are employees.

24            Senator Ayotte: I don't know how that works.

25            Dr. Southall: They already are employees.



1           So by being open and honest about what we are using  
2   and exploiting these athletes for, honesty is a very good  
3   thing.

4           Senator Ayotte: So as a woman athlete, if I'm not a  
5   revenue generating athlete, then I'm not going to be  
6   eligible for this employee/employer relationship. And so,  
7   then there's sort of a second category of athletes on  
8   campus.

9           Dr. Southall: They already have that.

10          Senator Ayotte: That bothers me.

11          Dr. Southall: We refer to them as revenue-athletes  
12   right now in revenue sports and Olympic sports. And that's  
13   fine. It does not mean that if we compensate athletes  
14   according to the market that everyone else has to go away.  
15   That is not what has to occur at all.

16          Senator Scott: Mr. Chairman?

17          Dr. Southall: So if the universities find that that  
18   opportunity is very important, they will support it. They  
19   will support it. I see no way that women's athletics or  
20   Olympic athletics is going to go away. It's not going to  
21   happen. It just isn't.

22          Senator Scott: Mr. Chairman?

23          The Chairman: Senator Scott.

24          Senator Scott: Thank you.

25          Dr. Emmert, as I listen to Kelly's questions about the

1 cost structure and the likely impact of creating some  
2 unions or some employees and some not employees, ultimately  
3 the cost structure itself would have impact in universities  
4 and have impact in athletic programs. I just wonder how  
5 significant that impact would be.

6 And let me say this before you answer the question;  
7 you think about your answer.

8 To Mr. Southall, it's good to have you here from  
9 Columbia, South Carolina University, South Carolina. I  
10 would be remiss if I didn't point out that at least you go  
11 to the right place; the Gamecocks. I like that a lot,  
12 being a South Carolina fan myself.

13 I will tell you that my story is very different than  
14 Cory's story, and you've got these Rhodes Scholars on the  
15 end who have done very well academically. And I'm very  
16 proud to see your success off the field as well as on the  
17 field. I will say that my story, I think, really plays an  
18 important part of why I am asking the questions I'm asking  
19 about the cost structure.

20 I'm a kid that grew up in a single-parent household.  
21 Had it not been for football I would not have been able to  
22 afford to go to college at all. I played football for just  
23 a year in college and earned a Christian Leadership  
24 Scholarship which took me to a different school. And I  
25 realize that responsibilities and the burden of practice

1 before and after labs and the challenges that I faced, and  
2 made a decision to go to a different route.

3 But the fact of the matter is, had it not been for  
4 that scholarship opportunity, I would not be sitting here  
5 today because I would not have had the opportunity to  
6 finish my, or even start, my education. So when I think  
7 about -- now I went to a small school, Presbyterian  
8 College; NAIA back in the day. So when I think about the  
9 cost structure of this conversation on athletes that are  
10 not in those top tier schools, there is a significant  
11 unintended consequences that I think we are looking at that  
12 Kelly really brought to the surface that is hard to deny  
13 and perhaps even harder to figure out how to fix it.

14 Dr. Emmert: Well, I happen to agree with you.

15 I think that the implications of converting a student-  
16 athlete model to an employee/employer model would utterly  
17 transform college sports into something that doesn't begin  
18 to look like what it looks like today. With all due  
19 respect, I completely agree with Dr. Southall's  
20 interpretation of all of this.

21 If you simply look at the definition of an employee,  
22 as has been provided by one NLRB administrator, that if a  
23 student is receiving a scholarship and additional benefits,  
24 that's compensation. If they are working more as a  
25 student-athlete than they are in their academic work, then

1     their working. If they are subject to the oversight of a  
2     coach, then they have a boss. I'm not a labor lawyer but  
3     that's, in summary, the definition of a student-athlete.  
4     That would apply to virtually every student-athlete that  
5     has a scholarship; man, woman, doesn't matter.

6             You know, a woman soccer player -- the difference  
7     between a women's basketball player and a men's basketball  
8     player isn't that the men's basketball player works harder.  
9     It isn't that they're more or less talented. The only  
10    difference is a singular difference and that is there's  
11    more people in the stands. That's it in terms of their  
12    time commitment, their competitiveness, everything. The  
13    difference is one plays in front of a lot of people and one  
14    doesn't. The difference between a volleyball player and a  
15    soccer player is exactly the same. The only difference is  
16    whether they're playing on T.V. or whether they're not.

17            Senator Scott: Yes, sir. And I want --

18            Dr. Emmert: So that completely --

19            Senator Scott: You're going to have to wrap it up a  
20    little bit.

21            Dr. Emmert: -- changes the relationship, as Dr.  
22    Southall pointed out, Title IX has nothing to do with  
23    employee/employer relationships. So Title IX would have  
24    nothing to do with any student-athlete that is no longer a  
25    student-athlete that's now an employee including a women's

1 basketball player. It would be an irrelevancy for college  
2 sports.

3 Senator Scott: Quick question for Mr. Bradshaw.

4 I know that you played sports a couple of years ago.  
5 I think it's five or seven years ago, I think it was.

6 Mr. Bradshaw: Thank you very much.

7 Senator Scott: Yes, sir. I can't read my notes but I  
8 think it says four or five years ago.

9 Mr. Bradshaw: There you go.

10 Senator Scott: Not 45.

11 But my question is, as you've had a lot of experience  
12 and you've looked at this opportunity as well as the  
13 challenges that come with the opportunity from multiple  
14 angles, what kind of progress have you seen over the last  
15 three decades or so? As we wrestle with some of the  
16 challenges that are going to be future challenges, and  
17 certainly are present challenges, sometimes we miss the  
18 progress that we've made along the way.

19 Mr. Bradshaw: And certainly, all of us think we can  
20 do better. There's no question about it, and we spend most  
21 of our time --

22 Senator Scott: And we should. And we should.

23 Mr. Bradshaw: -- talking about how we can be better  
24 and not patting ourselves on the back. But I would just  
25 say, as a former assistant coach back in the day and head

1 coach and student-athlete, that it's night and day; the  
2 changes, the quality of physicians, trainers. I mean, we  
3 didn't know what a dietician was as student-athletes or  
4 head coach. I mean, the changes are enormous. They're  
5 compelling.

6 And I think one of the things I would recommend that  
7 you get some student-athletes to talk to, that there's a  
8 balance. Obviously, there's outliers. There's some  
9 horrible stories that have happened and none of us, none of  
10 those is too many whether it's assault or date rape or  
11 whatever it might be. But I would love to see a panel of  
12 student-athletes to come in and talk about everything; a  
13 balanced panel of that. It's been significant and are  
14 across the line.

15 And I'm retired now. I can talk about it very  
16 objectively and not be concerned about a college president  
17 or a faculty or a board of trustees. It is really just an  
18 incredible profession that we're in, the changes that the  
19 NCAA are trying to make. And again, Mark has got to deal  
20 with votes, he's got to deal with the institutions, the  
21 college presidents, the board of trustees who pressure the  
22 college presidents. I think you've got something when you  
23 want to bring the presidents in here. I think that would  
24 be a good move and something that could help everyone. But  
25 the changes that have happened, they are just, you know, by

1 leaps and bounds particularly even in the last decade.

2 Senator Scott: Final question, Mr. Chairman? Do I  
3 have time for a final question?

4 The Chairman: Sure.

5 Senator Scott: To my Gamecocker, Dr. Southall. As  
6 you look at the opportunity for collective bargaining and  
7 its impact on the academic environment, realizing that most  
8 institution's, darn near all institutions, primary  
9 objective really is to cultivate an environment that is  
10 conducive for academic achievement. How do you see the  
11 impact of the collective bargaining opportunity, though I  
12 have grave concerns with it personally, on college campuses  
13 and its impact on that academic environment? Or, do you  
14 see one?

15 Dr. Southall: I don't see that it would have any  
16 effect.

17 Senator Scott: Good enough. Good enough.

18 Dr. Southall: No.

19 Senator Scott: All right. Thank you, sir.

20 The Chairman: Okay.

21 Senator Scott: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 The Chairman: Thank you.

23 Senator Coats, I know the question you want to ask and  
24 Mr. Emmert has answered most of those questions. And I  
25 know you feel a duty to ask the question but there isn't

1 going to be a second round. I'm going to make a closing  
2 statement, and then at 5:15 we will be through this very  
3 long hearing.

4 I want to say this: I have two impressions. One of  
5 them is superficial and the other, I think, is worrisome of  
6 this hearing. And I want each of you to either agree or  
7 not agree with me as kind of your closing statement. That  
8 on one level, this has been an open conversation. We've  
9 brought up all kinds of issues and those issues have been  
10 discussed to a small degree or a large degree. But my real  
11 feeling from this hearing is that we haven't accomplished  
12 much, and that people have laid down their, sort of,  
13 protective -- I'm not talking about you two gentlemen. But  
14 that there has been, sort of, a self-protection mode either  
15 for oneself or on behalf of others.

16 Your point about getting the board of trustees in,  
17 that would be kind of interesting because they do have a  
18 big influence over college presidents.

19 But all I know is, coming out of this hearing, that I  
20 don't think I've learned anything particularly new except  
21 some anecdotes that I haven't been hearing for 50 years,  
22 which is how long I've been in this business. And that the  
23 answers, you know, of course there's progress. Of course  
24 there's progress on concussions and of course there's  
25 progress in other things, but isn't in any way can comment



1 in an effective progress to what we should have been doing;  
2 all of us including this committee and this Congress, by  
3 not exercising our oversight rights?

4 The head of the NCAA at one point said, well, one of  
5 the things I did was to make sure that -- and I forget what  
6 the example was but it was the statement I got something  
7 done. I don't believe that. I don't believe that.

8 I think that the system is rigged so that you are  
9 separated from the possibilities of getting something done  
10 except as you testify or, you know, you probably couldn't  
11 write articles. You'd probably get blowback on that. But  
12 I don't think you have the power and I think it's  
13 constructed for that purpose. I'm cynical. I'm cynical  
14 about it.

15 It's too easy to have to complain in Senate hearings  
16 about, or any other kinds of fora, what progress has been  
17 made. Of course there's always progress that's been made  
18 but does it keep up with what needs to be done? And the  
19 answer is absolutely not.

20 And this country is now so soaked in the culture of  
21 ESPN, plus I guess a couple of other stations, and watching  
22 football, baseball, world's soccer, all the rest of it. I  
23 mean, my own view is it's undermining our values. I'll  
24 tell you one thing for sure, I think it's undermining our  
25 commitment to education.

1           And Dr. Southall, I think that you're talking about  
2     the different ways of jiggering the students, who are not  
3     athletes, actually doing a better job academically than  
4     those who aren't. It was said by the head of the NCAA that  
5     that was true. And it was also in his testimony. I don't  
6     believe that. I just don't believe it. Now I may be  
7     wrong, but this and then the different formulas you use --  
8     it's very interesting to me and something I'd like to know  
9     more about.

10           But to me it's been, in essence, an important hearing  
11    but not one which points to progress, because I think  
12    everybody is going to leave this hearing and they're going  
13    to go right back. I'm not. I don't think Senator Booker  
14    is, and I don't think a bunch of others are -- go back to  
15    doing what they do. But we got that one out of the way.  
16    No harm there. Nobody did themselves any great damage.  
17    Congress doesn't usually follow through. Congress doesn't  
18    get that much done. That happens to be true for the last  
19    three or four years.

20           And then, there's always the question of getting  
21    people from, you know, either trustees or heads of colleges  
22    and universities from states, and then members here would  
23    correlated to that might not want to have that happen. I  
24    mean, the world works in ways that protects itself, but  
25    this is a particular ugly one.

1           The question of rape and having -- I mean, I voted not  
2   to allow the Department of Defense to settle rape  
3   questions. I think that's ridiculous. It passed. What I  
4   didn't want to pass, passed by a margin but it was not a  
5   great margin. So yes, that's progress. But what we want  
6   to do is get there, and I don't have a feeling that we're  
7   on that path.

8           I think this hearing symbolizes that we might be, but  
9   the substance is that we probably won't be. React to that,  
10  anybody who wants to then I'm going to close the hearing.

11          Mr. Branch, I think you had something.

12          Mr. Branch: Well, Senator, I think that some  
13  differences have been, I mean, there are big differences  
14  here between talking about the way things work and how to  
15  reform and the whole underlying structure. Frankly, I  
16  think some differences have been diminished.

17          I agree whole-heartedly with one thing Dr. Emmert  
18  said, which is that a lot of these economic restrictions in  
19  the NCAA rules, if they were vacated, as Senator Heller's -  
20  - or abolished or somehow vacated for athletes as they were  
21  for coaches, it wouldn't make a particle of difference for  
22  90 percent of athletes. A small an athlete, recruited at a  
23  small Division III school, would be able to ask for better  
24  health coverage or a salary and the university, the little  
25  school, would be free to laugh at them and say we don't do

1     it. You know, go somewhere else. Just like if the piccolo  
2     player said, "I want to be paid to march in the band."

3             The schools are free to bargain that way but it  
4     wouldn't make an enormous difference in precisely these 65  
5     schools that we're talking about where there is gigantic  
6     money if an athlete can bargain at recruiting for better  
7     healthcare coverage for more time to study for a longer  
8     scholarship. It would change things because right now the  
9     model is that the schools do that solely at their  
10    dispensation.

11            I mean, the coaches in these big schools even want to  
12    give money out of their own pocket to players, like a tip,  
13    because they know that they don't have enough money to eat.  
14    So a model that recognizes that these athletes are trying  
15    to manage two very demanding careers at once that are in  
16    separate spheres, it is a step forward.

17            But right now, to me, the least hopeful thing I heard  
18    today is that we are looking to these same 65 schools that  
19    are the most commercialized as the engine of reform in the  
20    NCAA. I really don't see that. They may give higher  
21    compensation, they may give more tips, but they're the ones  
22    that created most of these problems in the first place.  
23    And I don't think that the big schools are going to do  
24    anything other than be driven more and more by the market  
25    in athletics and, quite frankly, those schools exploit

1     their athletes both as players and as students. Because I  
2     go around all of these big schools and the athletes.  
3     They're pushed into certain majors that are easy. They are  
4     not allowed to take certain courses. So the sad thing to  
5     me is, I think, that some differences are outlined and may  
6     be diminished, but I don't see the big 65 schools as an  
7     engine for much reform in the future because their record  
8     doesn't show that.

9             The Chairman: Any other comments?

10            Senator Coats: Mr. Chairman, I had asked before --

11            The Chairman: I know. You want to have Mr. Emmert to  
12     reply to everything that Cory Booker said.

13            Senator Coats: No. Well, I just think he deserves  
14     the opportunity to do that when someone takes an extra five  
15     minutes, and Senator Booker had every right. And he's most  
16     passionate about what he plead, but he leveled some  
17     accusations at the NCAA. I think they at least deserve to  
18     be able to respond to that.

19            The Chairman: And he'll have ample chance to do that.  
20     I have been bent over backwards, annoyed some of my members  
21     to give you a particular break because you come from  
22     Indiana where NCAA is headquartered. And I've done that.

23            Senator Coats: Well, I don't think you gave me a  
24     particular break. I was the first one here and that's the  
25     normal procedure and I had my five minutes --

1           The Chairman: If you hadn't been, you made it very  
2 clear to me on the floor that you wanted to be able to be  
3 the first one to ask the questions, and I said, "That's  
4 okay. Clear it with Senator Thune."

5           Senator Coats: But then I said I'll be the first so  
6 that you don't --

7           The Chairman: Yes, but you also -- so I'm not going  
8 to bend on that. This is the closing statement. And Mr.  
9 Emmert is free to answer in any form that he wants. He can  
10 write every member of the Commerce Committee a letter.

11           Anybody else want to say anything?

12           Dr. Southall: I've spent the last 15 years of my  
13 professional career examining intercollegiate athletics.  
14 And after this hearing today, I, like yourself, am very  
15 disheartened because I'm not sure that we collectively are  
16 willing to take a cold, hard, objective look, informed by  
17 research and informed by data at the collegiate model of  
18 athletics.

19           The Chairman: All right.

20           That being said, I want to thank everybody for this.  
21 This has been a long and interesting hearing. Everything  
22 is a first step, as Neil Armstrong said. We got a lot of  
23 steps to make, and as others have pointed out, the world is  
24 changing.

25           You know, it's like that Jackie Robinson, 42, movie.

1 And the player comes in and he says "I want to be traded."

2 And then, a couple weeks later he comes back and says "I  
3 don't want to be traded."

4 "Well, you willing to play with Robinson?"

5 He said, "Well, look. The world is changing and I can  
6 change too."

7 Now I think there's an element of that in all of this  
8 progress; has its own varieties in its own sort of  
9 beauties. And I think there has been progress.

10 My question is in that, for my entire adult life, I've  
11 been hearing about this and there's still so many problems  
12 that are, in accident, I think calls into question the way  
13 the decisions are made and carried through within the upper  
14 ranks of the football and basketball community. And that's  
15 on my mind and I'm chairman so I'm going to say that. And  
16 I'm also going to say that is the last thing I'll say and  
17 this hearing is adjourned.

18 [Whereupon, at 5:20 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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